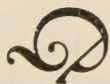


Social Determinants
in
Juvenile Delinquency

By
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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRE-
MENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE
GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1929

* 21052



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Doctor Charles A. Ellwood, of the Department of Sociology, University of Missouri, for his suggestions and helpful criticisms of the outline and development of this study. Thanks are due Doctor Howard E. Jensen of the Department of Sociology for reading and criticising this manuscript. He is not unmindful of the valuable assistance rendered by his wife, Dorcas Fleming Sullenger.

The author also wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Roy E. Buren for assistance in collecting data on delinquency in Columbia.

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INTRODUCTION

This study has grown out of some seven years work and observation with juvenile delinquency. During the academic years 1921-22 and 1922-23, the author delivered a series of lectures on the technique of social research to the advanced students in the Richmond (Va.) School of Social Work and Public Health. A portion of these lectures dealt with juvenile delinquency research. During the first semester of 1923-24, as head of the Department of Sociology in the University of Omaha, the author prepared and published as University of Omaha Bulletin, Volume 1, Number 5, an analysis of 550 cases of juvenile delinquents selected from the Omaha juvenile court files. The wide and hearty response which that preliminary study received has prompted this more extensive one.

The problem before us is to present a careful analysis of one thousand one hundred and forty-five cases of juvenile delinquents who appeared before the Juvenile and Domestic Relation Division of the District Court of Omaha, Nebraska, during the years 1922 to 1927 inclusive, and to determine as far as possible the social determinants in juvenile delinquency and the causal processes through which they become effective. In view of the fact that comparative studies in urban communities with those of rural communities are few, a similar study was made, according to the same plan for the same length of time, of 75 cases in Columbia, Missouri. Comparisons will be drawn wherever possible. Omaha, a city of 225,000 population, offers a much more fertile field for such a study. It is estimated that there are 50,000 children of juvenile court jurisdiction age in Omaha with a delinquency rate of 3.1 per cent annually, while Columbia, with a population of 16,000 has about 3,500 children of juvenile court age and an annual juvenile delinquency rate of .4 per cent. We hope to show that juvenile delinquency, as represented by the data obtained in the study of the two centers, is due almost invariably to some phase or phases of adult insufficiency growing out of human relations in the primary groups—the family, playgroup, neighborhood and the community.¹ We hope also to show that youth reflects the culture of these groups.

In order to understand the behavior problems of a child it is necessary to determine to what extent there are causative factors of delinquency in the groups which determine his behavior. The fundamental group is the home, where the association is intimate, and face-to-face. Here is where the process of socialization begins and the first patterns of social behavior are acquired. As the child grows older he becomes a part of a playgroup and the home influences become less predominant. In this group the gang and other organized forms of association demand a share of the child's attention. Outside the family circle and neighborhood group in which intimate and personal relations are maintained there is the community; the local community and the larger organized community represented by the city and the nation, and out beyond that limit there lies the vast and vague outline of that large world community which Graham Wallas called "The Great Society."

¹"Any community is a group of people gathered together in any geographical area, whether larger or small, and bound together by common interests."

Steiner, *Community Organization*, p. 15.

The proper adjustment of every delinquent² or near delinquent child is a process which challenges the bringing into play of every resource of knowledge and skill that modern medicine, psychology, psychiatry and sociology have developed. The public is prone to deal with these problems lightly and objectively by condemning the police, the courts, and the law and by building institutions and establishing clinics rather than going back into the cultural and community life which furnish those imponderable, intangible elements that influence the ideals and attitudes of young people in ways that are productive of delinquency and crime. The spirit of the community is projected by its youth. The spirit itself is evolved from the combined forces in the life and cultural history of the neighborhood and community, as expressed in its mores, folkways, customs, traditions and institutions.

We regard the wayward child as a normal human being misdirected. His personality is only an expression of his reactions to life, a composite of physical and mental elements and processes that involve his heredity and environment. A knowledge of the causation of his delinquency is of far more importance than a categorical classification of delinquents or their offenses. Rational methods are required to study the interactions of cause and effect as far as may be determined. Healy says, "The many studies of exterior conditions or physical states or personal habits which have been or are being made of delinquents are not to the point if they are not interpreted in relation to actual causation of the delinquent's misbehavior. Nothing is more striking to the careful student than the fact that reactions between the living conditions are not fixed and are not a priori predictable. Poverty, in one case is a stimulus to the formation of fine character tendencies; in another instance it is the motivation of even major crimes. Bad neighborhood conditions in some cases result in disgust rather than in acceptance of local standards of morality. Adolescent strivings and aggressiveness may lead in a direction of ambition and fine accomplishments, or may find outlets largely in delinquent trends. And so on through practically the whole list of possible causations of delinquency."³

This study seeks to determine the actual causation of the delinquent's behavior in its relation to the home, the playgroup, the school and neighborhood, and to ascertain as far as possible the correlation of juvenile delinquency with outdoor relief. Since street trades, newspaper policy in dealing with publicity of crime, and the density, mobility and growth of population are closely associated with juvenile delinquency we have dealt with each subject briefly. We have approached the study from several different angles with the hope that it will throw light on this interesting though somewhat undeveloped field. Only tentative conclusions can be drawn as the social forces which make for human misconduct are so complex. The more we study in this field the more untapped possibilities for future research present themselves.

²A delinquent child is "one under 18 who violates a law of the state, city or village, who is incorrigible or knowingly associates with thieves, vicarious or immoral persons, or visits gambling joints, foul rooms or bucket shops, wanders on the streets at night, in railroad yards, who is a habitual truant and constantly uses obscene language."

Juvenile Court Law. Section 1173. *Compiled Statutes of Nebraska*. 1922.

³*The Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquency*.

CHAPTER I

DETERMINANTS OF DELINQUENCY IN THE HOME

That basic and most essential unit of social organization, the family, has been carefully studied by many authorities, all of whom have agreed that in it lies tremendous forces which determine the behavior of youth. McDougall says, "The stability of the family is the prime condition of a healthy state of society and of the stability of every community."⁴ The family is the prime determiner of social behavior. From it comes youth indeliably stamped with high ideals and noble aspirations, or with low, vile, anti-social attitudes toward life. At present the family is undergoing a transition marked by fundamental social readjustments. Ross says that the family is less stable than it has been at any time since the beginning of the Christian Era. Society and the child have to pay the penalty for this instability. Divorce, which is one criterion of social disorder, has rapidly increased. Out of this situation comes much of our juvenile delinquency. In this chapter we hope to point out a few of the most potent factors in the home which are determinants of juvenile delinquency.

The effective socialization of the child requires a home with parents living together harmoniously; a home which has reasonable comforts, enough wholesome food for nourishment and growth, and surrounded by opportunities for the healthy development of the physical body. Loving, but not over-indulgent, parents have much to do in making a stable family. A child who fails to experience the warmth of love and sympathy or who has his efforts toward self-expression constantly checked is likely to produce behavior problems. Many cases show that where these legitimate satisfactions are not met in the home the child is prematurely driven to the streets, or other outlets are resorted to, such as excessive day dreaming, timidity, temper tantrums, lying, stealing, running away, setting fires, and the like.

We find that delinquency cannot be explained in terms of a few causative factors. It is a by-product of a vast number of minute social responses which most frequently originate in the home. In it we have inter-play of emotions, personality and social experience, which closely touch the child. In the rich homes as well as in the poor ones we find behavior problems, but not so numerous.

The lack of knowledge of child training and care on the part of the family is appalling. We found this ignorance not confined to the busy mother of the lower economic stratum. Miriam Van Waters, in speaking of conditions in the family which contribute to delinquency, says, "The fact is delinquent children are very often unwanted children. The only child, pampered, spoiled, over-indulged and sheltered, frequently becomes delinquent because his parents are too engrossed in personal ambitions, careers of business or other absorbing occupations to be really interested in a child."⁵

⁴*Social Psychology*, p. 268. Quoted by Ellwood in "Instability of the Family as a Cause of Child Dependence and Juvenile Delinquency," *Survey* 24, p. 886.

⁵"Unwanted—and Delinquent," *Survey*, 54, p. 228.

In this study we have not attempted to analyze in detail the subtler features of family life, parental attitudes, methods of discipline, and emotional relationships between the children, all of which features are very important. We found in many instances children who had been confronted from infancy with drunkenness, immorality, obscene and vulgar language, and poor living conditions. For example, in 125 cases in Omaha in which we obtained data on the environmental conditions in the home, in 20 cases, or 16 per cent, the father had been before the court for some misdemeanor. In 22 cases, or 17.6 per cent, other children of the family had been before the juvenile court, and in eight cases, or 6.2 per cent, the mother had been arrested for some offense. From these same cases 37 homes, or 29.6 per cent, were rated as fair; 26, or 20.8 per cent, as good and 62, or 49.6 per cent, as poor. Among our observations we found such conditions as insanity, chronic illness, epilepsy, drunkenness, overbearing and cruel father, theft, no privacy, over-crowdedness, immoral mother, illegitimacy, no apparent affection for the children, abusive parents, making and selling intoxicants, harboring women in the home for immoral purposes, uncalled-for begging, and just ordinary shiftlessness. Drunkenness and the factors that go with it were present in about one-fourth of the cases. In Columbia 24, or 32 percent, had either father or mother or both with criminal records. Summarizing, we find that 39.8 per cent in Omaha and 32 per cent in Columbia had offenders in their immediate families. Such homes are breeding places for delinquents and criminals. How can we expect children to behave when their parents misbehave?⁶ Impressions which can never be entirely eradicated are made on the plastic minds. Very often in the individual delinquents who commit the graver offenses of personal assault, serious property damage, theft and the like, one finds a basic feeling of antagonism toward authority and a profound distrust in it. The family background of such offenders is nearly always tense with hatred and mutual suspicion. As the children become old enough, there is a strong tendency for them to adopt some means of defense or some way to secure recognition in the community.

The family performs a vital function in the social order. When it is broken in any way or rendered insufficient by estrangement, it cannot properly perform its function. The result is apparent in the lives of the children. Burt's study in London showed that 60 per cent of 200 delinquents were handicapped by broken homes.⁷ We found that of the 1145 cases in Omaha 50.7 per cent came from broken homes, as did 52 per cent of the 75 cases in Columbia. Homes are broken in many ways, the most tragic of which are the death of one parent or both, desertion or separation, and divorce.

In a previous study by the author, of 1415 cases of divorce, it was found that in 37.7 per cent there was one child or more. "The mere divorcing of two individuals does not present a very disastrous consequence as far as society is concerned, but the effect upon the lives of the children is far reaching and often wrought with moral disaster. The children are not only denied wholesome homes and family life, but the love and respect of one parent or both is

⁶Compare with Bedford, "How Can Children Behave if Parents Misbehave?"

Journal of Criminal Law, Vol. XVIII, p. 568.

⁷*The Young Delinquent*, p. 92.

lost. The very foundation of their existence is wrecked. The child's whole outlook upon life has been changed. The children very often fail to understand what it is all about; yet at the same time they are keenly aware that something vital and terrible is taking place in their lives. A great percentage of the juvenile court cases are children of divorced parents. Our high school principals tell us that their most difficult problems are caused by children of divorced parents. The children's injury cannot be measured, it may even extend to several generations."⁸

The following tables show the distribution of normal parental conditions (both parents alive and living at home) and abnormal conditions:

TABLE Ia

Home and Parental Conditions of 1145 Delinquent Children in Omaha, 1922-1927

	TOTAL		BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total number of Cases	1145	100.0	808	100.0	337	100.0
Number from Normal Homes	564	49.3	443	54.8	121	35.9
Number from Broken Homes	581	50.7	365	45.2	216	64.1

TABLE Ib

Home Conditions of 581 Delinquent Children From Broken Homes in Omaha, 1922-1927

	TOTAL		BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total number of Cases	581	100.0	365	100.0	216	100.0
Father Dead	120	20.6	78	22.3	42	19.4
Mother Dead	91	15.6	59	16.7	32	14.8
Both Parents Dead	32	5.6	20	5.5	12	5.5
Step-father	115	19.8	72	19.7	43	19.9
Step-mother	37	6.3	26	7.2	11	5.0
Parents Separated	49	8.8	33	9.1	16	7.5
Parents Divorced	104	18.2	65	17.8	39	18.1
Father Deserted	15	2.5	6	1.6	9	4.2
Foster Parents	8	1.4	2	.6	6	2.9
Two Step-parents	1	.1	1	.2	0	0
Guardian	1	.1	0	0	1	.4
Living with Grand-parents	1	.1	1	.2	0	0
Other Conditions	6	1.0	2	.6	4	1.9

⁸Sullenger, "A Study of Divorce and Its Causation in Douglas County, Nebraska." *University of Omaha Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1927.

TABLE II

Home and Parental Conditions of 75 Delinquents in Columbia, 1922-1927

Condition	Total	Per cent
Number from Normal Homes	36	48.0
Number from Broken Homes	39	52.0
Total Number of Cases	75	100.0
Father Dead	19	29.3
Mother Dead	11	16.9
Step-father	9	13.6
Step-mother	4	6.2
Parents Divorced	17	26.2
Parents Separated	5	7.6
Totals	65*	100.0

As we examine the data given in Table I, we see that 50.7 per cent of the 1145 delinquents were from broken homes.⁹ Eight hundred and eight, or 70 per cent, of the total number of delinquents were boys, and of this number 365, or 45.1 per cent, were from broken homes. In comparison we see that of the 337 girls, 216, or 64.1 per cent, were from broken homes, and 121, or 35.9 per cent, from normal homes. Thus a greater frequency of abnormal parental conditions is found as a causative factor of delinquency among girls than among boys. This is in accord with other studies in this field.¹⁰ The reason for this situation is no doubt due in part to the difference in the nature of the two sexes, and to the fact that the boy is subjected to a wider range of environmental influences, and also to a different set of social standards.

Death of the father is tragic to the behavior of both girls and boys. The greatest number of delinquent boys from broken homes had lost their fathers. It was almost as serious for the girls as having a step-father. This appears to be an overlapping, but we were careful to see that very few, if any, were duplicated. The condition as shown in the table was the status at the time the cases were before the court. In Omaha 120, or 20.6 per cent, of the cases from broken homes were without the guidance of a father, while in Columbia 19, or 48.7 per cent (Table II), were fatherless. Loss of the mother was not reflected so strongly in the behavior problems of either boys or girls in Omaha or in Columbia. In the former there was a total of 15.6 per cent, and in the latter 28.2 per cent. A step-father is also a prominent factor in causing

*Because of incomplete court records of the juvenile court having jurisdiction over Columbia and Boone County, we were unable to determine the parental status at the time of the court hearing. Consequently there is much duplication. Some whose parents were dead also had step-parents, and others whose parents were separated were also divorced.

⁹Shidler estimates that 19.3 per cent of the child population are from broken homes. The census data on this subject are not available. Shidler's estimate, if correct, would indicate that broken homes produce delinquents 2.6 times as frequently as chance distribution would lead us to anticipate.

"Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in U. S.," *American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. VIII, pp. 709-732.

¹⁰Compare with Bushong's "Family Estrangement and Juvenile Delinquency," *Social Forces*, Vol. V, p. 79.

delinquency among boys. In most cases the step-father and the step-children are antagonistic toward one another.¹¹ Friction easily arises, and thus lack of sympathetic coordination results. The total rate of delinquent cases having step-fathers in Omaha was 29.8 per cent, and 23 per cent in Columbia. Homes broken by divorce furnished the next highest number of delinquents. In Omaha 17.8 per cent of the boys and 18.1 per cent of the girls, or a total of 35.9 per cent, were from such homes, while in Columbia a total of 43.6 per cent were from homes broken by divorce. Desertion of the father was nearly three times as great among the girls as among the boys. Otherwise, as Table I shows, the parental condition seemed to have about the same influence on the behavior of the sexes.

The following cases were selected from the large number of such cases studied, as they are typical pictures of broken homes and delinquency.

CASE 1

Two girls, 17 and 13, and a boy, 16, were living with their mother, step-father and small half-brother, in a dirty basement apartment. The children's father was honorable and respected, an automobile mechanic by trade, living in a southern state. He was married to the children's mother for ten or eleven years, during which time she left him several times, each time asking to come back to him. At one time she took the children to a southern city and deserted them. At this time the juvenile court of that city took charge of them, when the father secured their return to him. At the time of the divorce the father was given custody of the children. Then the mother remarried, and on her plea that she had changed her ways he permitted the children to visit their mother. She refused to allow them to return. A year ago the mother received a jail sentence for bootlegging, and it was found that the home was very undesirable for the children. The baby was placed in an institution for adoption, and the other children were placed in the juvenile home. After nine weeks the baby was returned to the mother at her request and the other children were released. The home conditions did not improve, so in a few months the mother was arrested for keeping a disorderly house, both girls were found guilty of immorality and associating with immoral persons. The baby was again sent to an institution for adoption and the two girls were sent to the State Industrial School for Girls. The boy, at the father's request, was returned to him.

¹¹The fact that the step-father figures as a factor in delinquency to a greater extent than the step-mother may be due in part at least to a difference in tendency to bring children by former marriages into the new domestic situation. In the interval between a prior and a subsequent marriage the father tends to make arrangements for the care of his children apart from himself and to continue such arrangement after remarriage, while the mother tends to remain with her children during the interval between marriages and to bring her children with her into the new home. Thus men to a greater extent than women find themselves encumbered with undesired step-children, who become a source of family discord. The extent of this tendency, however, cannot as yet be measured statistically because of a lack of adequate data.

CASE 2

Mary, a girl of 15 years, lived with her mother, who was feeble-minded, her step-father and two half-sisters, two and three years old. Mary and her step-father were unduly intimate; the step-father was arrested for statutory rape and was sentenced to the penitentiary for three years. Mary was in the eighth grade at school until a short time before the birth of her baby. The mother appeared stolid, and showed no emotion at all about her daughter's condition, but cried all through her husband's trial. She seemed to feel that Mary was to blame, and that her husband deserved only sympathy. The mother had been married to her present husband five years, and had been living with her mother in New York City prior to that time. After the birth of Mary's baby, it was placed out for adoption. The two half-sisters were given to their father's mother. Mary and her mother were provided with transportation to New York City, as the grandmother gave good references as to her character and ability to care for them. Since that time Mary has returned to school, and at the last reports was making good progress.

In concluding this chapter, we may well say with Healy and Bronner in speaking of the influence of the home, "Where to place a large measure of responsibility, where to direct a strong attack in treatment and for prevention of delinquency, stands out with striking clearness."¹² The modern home, as we have seen, too frequently becomes a breeding place for the criminals of tomorrow. Its stability is at stake. Maladjustments and disintegration are expensive. It behooves society to remedy this condition and thus remove one of the chief groups of determinants in juvenile delinquency.

¹²*Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*, p. 129.

CHAPTER II

DETERMINANTS OF DELINQUENCY IN THE PLAYGROUP

Following the family, we found that the most effective of all stimuli came from the playmates, friends of the family and religious and social associates. These stimuli originate with the child's first playmates who live within a short distance from his home. They exert an amazing influence upon him—in his use of language, of his methods of play, his favorite games, and, most of all, his attitudes toward others. His companions often surpass his parents in furnishing influential social controls. The child's social nature demands expression, and if this expression is not properly directed it will result in harmful social contacts. He must be taught how to use his leisure time most effectively and be afforded opportunity to use it wholesomely both for himself and for society. Juvenile delinquency results in a large measure from an unwise use of leisure time. A majority of children are brought into court because of lack of adequate community direction of leisure time activities.

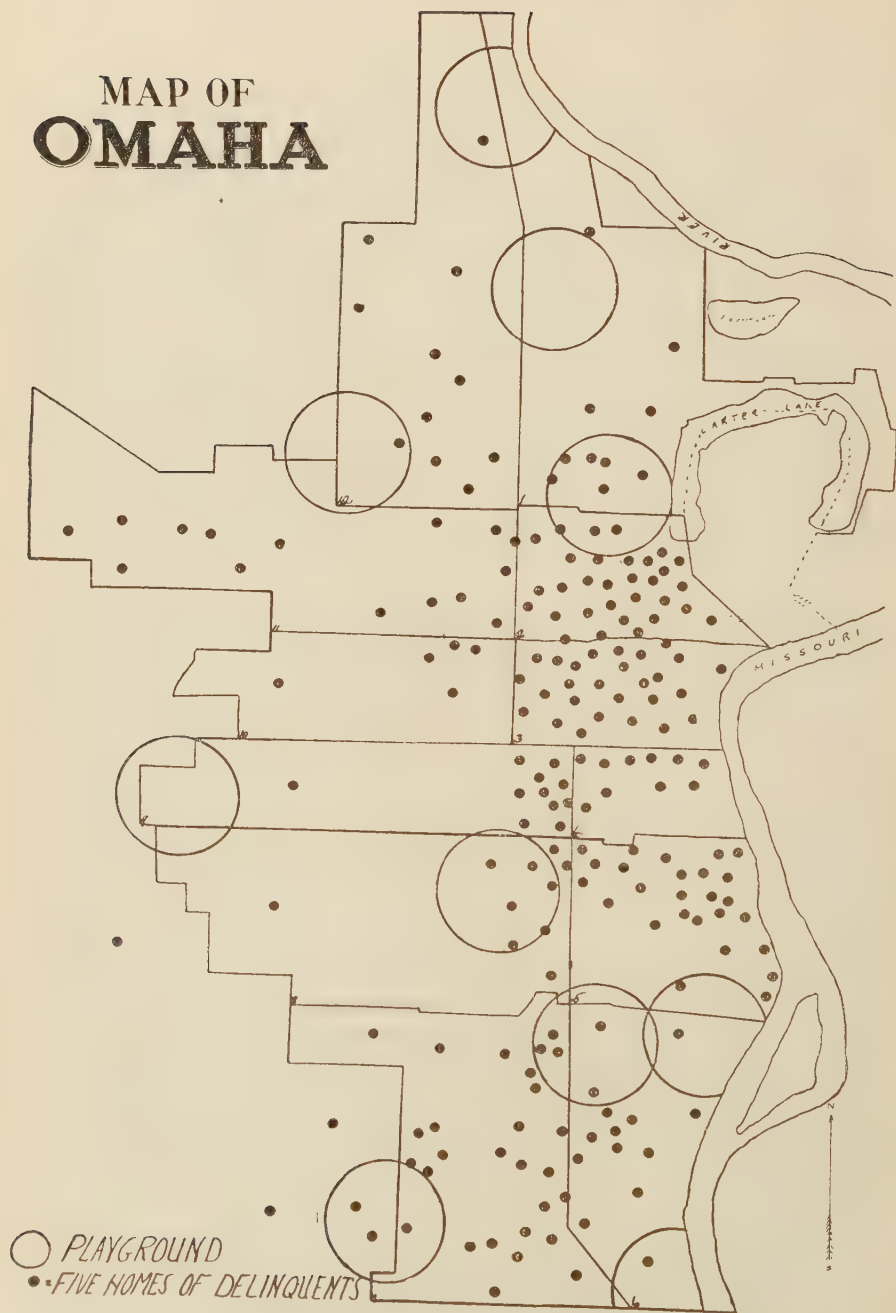
In this study we found that not less than 55 per cent of the 1145 cases became delinquent as the result of a search for some form of recreation which could have been prevented had the community provided properly directed play for its children. According to Dr. Elliott, "What we want to do is control people, not crime. We can do it best by a proper guidance of youth. Give youth directed outlets for physical energy—playgrounds, parks, supervised play and well regulated dance halls."¹³ In order to test the assumption that lack of leisure time direction is a determinant of juvenile delinquency the distribution of juvenile court cases was studied in relation to the location of the municipal playgrounds of Omaha. The map on page 14 shows the location of 1000 homes which furnished delinquents to the court during the period studied. It also shows the location of the playground in their relation to the location of delinquent homes. A circle of a one-half mile radius was drawn from the center of each playground, and the number of delinquent homes was counted within each. We found that 904, or 90.4 per cent lived more than one-half mile from the nearest playground.¹⁴ The arbitrary distance of one-half mile was selected because the national child welfare and playground associations found that this is the maximum distance that the average city child will walk to a playground, and that many will not walk more than one-fourth mile. This means that playgrounds should be located every square mile in densely populated districts. The map on page 14 shows also that the greatest amount of delinquency occurs in the most densely populated sections of the city which include all of wards 3 and 4 and parts of wards 2 and 5.¹⁵ Wards 2 and 3 contain the most

¹³Elliott, "On the Control of Crime," *The Playground*, XX, p. 89.

¹⁴The data for comparing delinquency ratio rather than total number of delinquents within and without these half mile circles are unfortunately not in existence. But estimates of comparative densities of population and size of families in these areas do not indicate the necessity of any serious modification of the conclusions here reached.

¹⁵See Chapter VIII and population map, p. 57.

MAP OF OMAHA



Map showing location of homes of delinquents and municipal playgrounds.

densely populated Negro section of the city. There are many almost irresistible temptations in crowded neighborhoods where there is little or no provision for sports and recreation.

The following table shows the distribution of parks and municipal playgrounds according to city wards, (1922-1927).

TABLE III

Distribution of Municipal Parks and Playgrounds in Omaha

Ward	Population	Acres of Park Area	Park Area per Capita	No. Parks	No. Playgrounds
1	21,549	394.75	.018	5	3
2	28,891	0.	.0	0	0
3	17,202	1.72	.0001	1	0
4	10,656	0.	.0	0	0
5	18,042	19.30	.001	1	0
6	13,905	161.87	.9117	4	3
7	12,942	18.59	.0015	4	1
8	16,887	57.69	.003	1	1
9	24,795	215.88	.008	2	1
10	19,866	20.40	.001	4	1
11	14,475	1.10	.0001	1	0
12	10,003	107.53	.01	1	1

The average park area per capita for the entire city is .0049 acres. Three of the parks are strips of land along boulevards. These are located in wards 5, 10, and 11. The smallest park contains .33 acres, and the largest one contains 303.54 acres. As previously shown, the "delinquent area" includes wards 3 and 4, with parts of 2 and 5. The table shows that there is only one small park, known as "Loafers' Park," in ward 3, and none in ward 4. It is also noted that there are no playgrounds in either of these two parks. Ward 2 has no park or playground, while ward 5 has only one small park, but no playground. Ward 6 is large in area, so it has 3 parks and 3 playgrounds. There were several cases of delinquents in this ward, but they were not near the playgrounds, as the map on page 14 shows.

Someone has said that if children had opportunities of touching nature and of using their pent-up energies in parks and playgrounds and in other wholesome ways, they would not insist on committing acts that jeopardize the public. The boy who uses the streets for play is no more unsocial than the community which declines to furnish him with proper play facilities; change of law does not change child nature, but changed conditions require new adjustments.

The Playground and Recreation Association of America has collected from various parts of the country and published¹⁶ a large number of statements from juvenile judges, probation officers, social workers and others, which show that properly directed recreation has reduced juvenile delinquency from 25 to 75 per cent in areas of much delinquency.

¹⁶*Children's Play and Juvenile Delinquency.*

It has been found that the average cost of maintaining one juvenile delinquent in a reformatory for one year is \$439, and, in comparison, it costs only seven and one-third cents per child to provide a year-round municipal recreation program. Thus the cost of taking care of one delinquent is sufficient to provide wholesome recreation for 6000 potential delinquents. During the period of study Omaha sent an average of 60 juvenile delinquents annually to the state reformatory. If ten per cent of these could have been saved by one or two well directed, properly located municipal recreation centers, the state would have saved over \$2000 annually, without considering the social and moral cost of delinquency.

An Experiment

To verify further the above findings, a school lot near the center of Neighborhood 3, which is discussed in Chapter IV as a culture area, was selected for a demonstration playground. This neighborhood was chosen because it had contributed a greater number of delinquents for its area than any other district in the city for the three previous years. Directors selected for the playground had previously taken a recreation leaders' training course offered by the department of sociology in the University of Omaha summer school. We secured the close cooperation of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. The city officials were skeptical, and claimed that the children in such a demotic neighborhood would not attend a directed playground and would refuse to abide by rules and regulations. Just before the formal opening of the playground we distributed invitations to all children in the neighborhood, announcing the daily program and specified hours for the different age groups. The program and schedule were as follows:

- 9-10 A.M. story hour for children under seven years old.
- 10-12 A.M. organized games for boys and girls 7-10 years old.
- 1- 2 P.M. handicraft for boys and girls 8-15 years of age.
- 2- 5 P.M. group games for boys and girls 8-16 years of age.
- 6- 9 P.M. baseball, croquet, horseshoes, etc., for older boys and girls.

All activities of the girls were directed by a woman director and those of the boys by a man. In all the organized and group games emphasis was placed on competition and fair play. Wednesdays were designated as parents' day. Field meets were held, ribbons were awarded for first, second and third places, handicraft was exhibited, and pet shows were conducted.

Many of the boys around 12 and 14 years of age sold papers on the street corners in the afternoons. Girls who cared for the babies while their mothers worked out brought them to the playground. A large portion of the children had been before the juvenile court, and some had served terms in the reform schools. They had not been accustomed to playing together in organized games, and naturally it was difficult for them to learn to respect the rights of others. At least 10 to 12 different nationalities were always represented on the playground. The attendance grew from the very first day, and before the end of the first week the attendance reached an average of 50 a day. The average attendance steadily increased until it reached 200 a day. Nearly 300 people crowded the school grounds the last night to see a costume parade in which more than 30 of the children took part. A municipal,

undirected playground was in operation within three blocks with an average attendance of 17 a day.

While the playground was in operation juvenile delinquency decreased 10 per cent in this neighborhood. Many times boys who were known to have court records were heard making the statement, "No more meanness now while the playground runs, as we have something to do." Neighborhood merchants and parents petitioned that the playground be made permanent, as the neighborhood had never before been so orderly. Parents expressed their appreciation to us for keeping their children off the streets. We do not mean that delinquency ceased, but activities that would otherwise have been expressed in delinquent acts were utilized on the playground in the forms of well organized and supervised play. Every child was kept busy in some activity that had a tendency to develop his speed, accuracy, mental alertness, and sportsmanship. No idlers were permitted on the ground. The boys and girls were never coerced to participate in certain kinds of activity, but were always invited to take part. It was then up to them to make their choice. Everything possible was done to develop and encourage fair play, honesty and other primary group ideals.

This experiment verified our assumption that normal children prefer properly directed recreation to any other; and that all classes of children can be taught to play; that the highest ideals of morality and citizenship can be taught on the playground to the lowest types of southern immigrants; that properly directed play is a preventive of juvenile delinquency; and, above all, that the lack of wholesome well directed use of leisure time is one of the chief determinants in juvenile delinquency.

Another part of this study was to determine the type of recreation engaged in by the average normal child during the school year. We distributed a questionnaire to 1076 high school students (540 boys and 536 girls) in two of the largest high schools in Omaha, and also to 708 grade school pupils (339 boys and 369 girls) from the fourth to the eighth grades inclusive. Each was asked, "What do you do for recreation outside of school?" The replies from the high school students are briefly summarized as follows: Fifty-seven different activities were mentioned in the replies. Most students mentioned at least two. The theater led in popularity with 57.3 per cent. Hiking came next with 57.2 per cent, while 48 per cent said they found amusement in books. Forty-four per cent played baseball. Dancing found favor with 31 per cent, while motoring ranked next with 29 per cent. Baseball, emphasized in sports at this season, was chosen by 334 boys and 141 girls, and tennis ranked next with 207 boys and 161 girls. Swimming was mentioned by 122 girls and 176 boys, and 19 per cent of the students designated skating as a winter sport. Twenty-one per cent named gardening. Of this number there were 143 boys and 86 girls. More than 20 per cent of the replies mentioned unsupervised music. The girls predominated in this. Among the boys twelve per cent stated they were spending much leisure time with radio. Only four per cent of the boys mentioned pool as a form of recreation.

A summary of the replies from the grades is as follows: The average age for the fourth grade was 9.3 years. Fifty per cent of the boys played baseball, while 61 per cent of the girls helped their mothers. Thirteen per

cent attended movies, but most of the others just played. The fifth grade showed an average age of 10.4 years. Thirty per cent played baseball, while 40 per cent attended the movies. Twenty-six per cent spent their leisure time reading, while others swam or played in parks. A few played tennis or listened to the radio. The average age for the sixth grade was 11.9 years. Baseball again led the list with 43 per cent, while only 20 per cent attended the movies. Reading ranked next with 37 per cent. The seventh grade, with an average age of 12.3 years, played baseball to the extent of 40 per cent. Motion pictures and reading came next with 40 per cent each. Many were interested in radio, as shown by 22 per cent. The average age of the eighth grade was 13.4 years. Forty per cent listed baseball, 32 per cent the movies and 33 per cent skating in its seasonal forms. Thirty-eight per cent designated swimming, while 28 per cent read (23 per cent are girls). Other activities mentioned were basketball, football, picnics and many minor sports.

The results show that the theater or movies ranked the highest for all groups combined. Dancing and motoring were frequently mentioned by the high school students. The grade school children listed baseball as their favorite pastime. Hiking come in for a good share of the time of high school students. Much of this was with the Scouts.

We feel that this brief study of the recreational interests of nearly 2000 normal boys and girls throws some light on the forms of recreation that have the possibilities of being determinants in juvenile delinquency. Commissioner Whalen of New York City Police Department says, "Boys and girls do not become criminals over night. The spare time after school hours is certainly the great danger period."¹⁷ We conclude that since pool playing interested so small a per cent (4 per cent) of the high school student it is not a strong causative factor of juvenile delinquency. On the other hand, we found that 29 per cent of the students spent much of their time auto riding, and 15.5 per cent of the 1145 delinquent cases were due to reckless driving, and 16.7 per cent were due to auto theft; therefore, 32.2 per cent of the cases of delinquency were due to their desire to spend their leisure time motoring. There is certainly a close correlation between this 32.2 per cent and the 29 per cent who preferred auto riding.

In order to prevent juvenile delinquency, all of these forms of group recreation must be kept on the highest possible plane by the community. Dr. Healy in reporting on his studies in Chicago and Boston says, "Poor recreations, that is, a conglomerate of all sorts of poor amusements, were found in 20 per cent of the cases. Street life in excess appeared as a very bad feature in the life of boys in 15 per cent, of girls in 2 per cent of the total. . . ."¹⁸ It is important in planning effective preventive work with delinquents to know that in 62 per cent of 3000 cases companionship could be regarded as a causative factor in the delinquency."¹⁹

¹⁷*New York Times*, "Police to Aid Fight on Juvenile Crime." March 26, 1929, p. 1.

¹⁸Healy & Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking*, p. 179.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 181.

The Gang

The gang is a natural from of organized group life for the purpose of play. It is usually composed of from two to fifteen or twenty boys who play together because they have common interests. The majority of gangs develop from the spontaneous play group. The gang offers a substitute for what society fails to give, and it provides a relief from supervision and distasteful behavior. It thus fills a gap and affords an escape from the general routine of life. It is distinctly a world all its own, far removed from the humdrum existence of the average citizen. Life within the gang is often rough and untamed, yet rich in elemental social processes significant to the student of society and human nature. This life touches in a vital way almost every problem in the life of the community. The gang develops as a response to society. The social group of which the pre-gang boy is a member has failed to provide organized and supervised activities adequate to absorb his interests and exhaust his energies. An active boy without an outlet for his energies is a restless boy, seeking satisfactions he cannot name, willing to experiment, curious, and eager to escape whatever surveillance is placed upon him. The gang meets this by offering him opportunities that society has failed to provide.

Such a spontaneous play group as the gang may acquire a real organization. Natural leaders may emerge, a relative standing is assigned to various members and then traditions begin to develop. Strong gang solidarity does not take place until it begins to excite disapproval and opposition, which result in a group consciousness. It may become a conflict group. Gangs, like most other social groups, originate under conditions that are typical for all groups of the same species; they develop in definite ways in accordance with a form that is predetermined by characteristic internal processes and mechanisms, and they have a natural history all their own. Thrasher defines the gang as follows: "The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by the following types of behavior: meeting face-to-face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict and planning. The result of this collective behavior is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory."²⁰ No two gangs are just alike. Wide divergency in the character of the group's personnel combined with differences in physical and social environment, experience and tradition, give to every gang its own peculiar character. It may vary as to membership, type of leaders, mode of organization, interests and activities, and, finally, as to its status in the community. Thrasher says, "This fact of individuality must be recognized both by the student who attempts to classify it as a form of collective behavior and by the social worker who deals with it as a practical problem."¹²

The gang may undergo a sort of natural evolution from a diffused and loosely organized group into a solidified unit which represents the matured gang and which may take one of several forms. It sometimes becomes a specialized delinquent type participating in various forms of delinquencies as

²⁰*The Gang*, p. 57.

²¹Op. Cit., p. 45.

individuals and as a group. These may range from truancy to serious crimes. On the other hand, the gang may take the form of a club, or some other organized activity in which the same fundamental inherited tendencies may receive expression. The gang is a function of specific conditions and does not tend to appear in the absence of these conditions. The way the gang is conditioned determines its social relationship and the nature of its activities. The gang is not necessarily a cause of crime, nor are all gangs criminal, but they have the potentialities of both good and evil. It is only when the normal interests fail to be satisfied in a manner which is in harmony with the established social mores that crime results. If their activities are properly directed they have possibilities of becoming great assets to the community. Such organizations as the Boy Scouts are doing much in this respect.²² The gang is distinctly a primary group, depending on differences in social environment and previous experiences, it tends to include in every case some form of expression of the primary group virtues, or moral attitudes which focus about the group rather than the welfare of its individual members. It has all the characteristics of the other face-to-face groups, but more intensified.

Increased suggestibility exists in the group. The boy in a gang or in an organized group of two or more boys will be led to participate in crimes, the very idea of which, he might shrink from when alone. What one boy suggests is quickly taken up by the group. Not only is suggestibility increased by the presence of other like-minded individuals, but the sense of responsibility and power of self-control is diminished. It is quite possible for a group, whose original intentions were entirely harmless, to develop into an unruly and dangerous gang. The problems arising in connection with the presence of gangs in a community are many. The undirected gang demoralizes its members. It aids in making chronic truants and juvenile delinquents and in developing them into finished criminals. It augments racial friction, and may, through suggestion, lead to race riots.

We were unable to secure data upon the gang affiliation of all the delinquent boys studied in Omaha. However, from all data obtained we estimate that not less than 70 per cent of the cases were associated with other boys in their delinquencies. This does not mean that they were always aligned with definite, organized gangs, as Thrasher describes. It is the opinion of the Chief Probation Officer and settlement workers in Omaha that there are very few definitely organized juvenile gangs in the city that express their activities in the form of crime. Most of the 50 so-called gangs studied in Omaha were only temporary groups of boys who incidentally "worked" together in certain types of offenses. The following briefly summarized cases are representative: 1. Four boys, ages 12, 13, 14 and 16, were caught stealing lead from the smelters. They were all "repeaters."²³ 2. Five boys were apprehended for greasing car tracks. The case was settled out of court, as they were first offenders. 3. Six boys were discovered stripping and stealing auto parts from cars. Two of them were caught. 4. The "Kearney Gang" qualified as a real gang. They were all former inmates in the state reform school at Kearney. They caused a great deal of trouble by stealing, house-

²²See Chapter IX.

²³A "repeater" is one who has been before the court two or more times.

breaking and many petty offenses. All of them were Italian newsboys with ages ranging from 9-13. They lived in the densely settled "delinquent area" in Neighborhood 2 discussed in Chapter IV. They had no opportunity for wholesome recreation in their neighborhood, and so they played in the streets. An older man, who competed with them in newspaper selling, was supposed to have been the controlling power in this gang. 5. This is the case of a Polish boy who, with his parents and three other children, lived in a small dirty house in the edge of the city. He was 15 years old and in the sixth grade. He had previously been in court three times. This time he and his "gang" failed to resist the temptation of shooting out the switch lights on the railroad. This is a common form of recreation for the boys living near the tracks. There was no place in the neighborhood except the yards and the streets for them to play. 6. Five boys, ages 14 to 17, were charged with incorrigibility. The nativity of this "gang" was unusual. The five boys represented as many different nationalities, namely, Bohemian, Polish, Austrian, Italian, and American. They had been "working" together for some months when apprehended. Their chief activities were stealing rides on busses, stealing golf balls, swimming in private lakes, abusive when told to leave the premises, and so on. This is another evidence of a group getting into trouble while seeking normal recreation.

In Columbia 41, or 54 per cent, of the 75 cases studied were found to be members of organized gangs. These come nearer to fitting Thrasher's definition than do the Omaha gangs. We are unable to account for this, except the families in Columbia are much more stable than in Omaha. They are just as mobile, but changing about in a town of 16,000 does not break up a gang as it does in a city of 220,000. We, herewith, give a brief description of the leading gangs and a few representative cases on which we were able to obtain data. The Weasel gang required the presentation of a certain number of stolen articles as a prerequisite to membership. An illustrative case. Ted, a boy of 16 years of age, was a member of this gang. His home conditions were normal. He was frequently truant and never got farther than the sixth grade in school. He was charged with incorrigibility and of being a "dope" fiend. He later was sentenced to a term in the state reform school for theft, but was paroled.

The Dope gang was a branch of the Weasel gang. They were the members who used "dope." Some of the old members of this gang are still selling "dope" in Columbia. Case: Jim, age 15, was a truant. He smoked, drank, took drugs, played pool and frequented other questionable places of recreation. He served a prison sentence for selling drugs and stealing. He is now in Kansas City fleeing from police.

The West End gang is a new gang in the western part of Columbia. It has no particular characteristics. Case: Edward, age 15, planned with his gang to rob a store, but was deserted by them; so he committed the robbery alone. There were seven other children in his family. He was an habitual truant. He was a Scout for two years, but had been dropped, as his father said, just at the time he most needed the organization.

The Northwest gang had seven members. Two of the boys stole \$20.00. They played pool, smoked, attended dances and movies frequently. A father

of one of the boys was very strict with him, the other father was a bootlegger. It remains yet to be seen when the other members of the gang, some of whom are already demoralized, will reach the court.

The Dirty Dozen gang had 12 Negro boy members who were definitely organized. Their crimes were some forms of theft. They were all from immoral homes in the worst Negro residential section in town. Bad associates led to truancy, idleness and later to theft.

The Fly High gang was composed of six or more Negro high school boys. The most of them were on the school athletic teams. They received this title because they dressed so well. They soon began to live beyond their means. Rather than earn their money honestly, they began by robbing a clothing store. They were all to stick together regardless of results. Case: Bob, a mulatto, was apparently the leader of this gang. He had a good school record and a good home. He was the only child, and consequently was spoiled. He drank, smoked, frequented pool halls, and kept company with questionable girls. He is now on parole and is reported doing well.

The Cemetery gang, so named because they lived near the cemetery, were all from very poor homes, many of which were broken by separation or divorce. Some of these members were said to be illegitimate.

Many other cases might be given from both Omaha and Columbia, but the ones above mentioned are sufficient to point out a few of the main determinants in the delinquencies which are the by-products of these organized and semi-organized groups. They all give a vivid picture of like-minded boys blindly seeking an opportunity to satisfy their innate desire for adventure and recreation. They have become delinquent largely because the communities in which they live have failed to meet their responsibilities in providing organized and supervised activities adequate to absorb their interests and exhaust their energies. An active boy without an outlet for his energies is a restless boy seeking satisfaction he cannot name. Society pays dearly for this adult insufficiency.

Summarizing, we found that much of the juvenile delinquency was mis-directed play; that 90.4 per cent of the homes of delinquents in Omaha were located one-half mile or more from the nearest playground; that most of the delinquent acts were suggested or brought to the child's attention during his spare time; that many of the acts were performed in order to get the resources or means by which the child could enjoy his leisure time; that the behavior of delinquent and normal children was, in most cases, the same, except the former was slightly distorted as a result of insufficient guidance; and that some of these acts were due to revolt against routine and strict discipline in the homes. We conclude that the greatest determinant in delinquency outside the home is the lack of properly directed recreation.

CHAPTER III

DETERMINANTS OF DELINQUENCY IN THE SCHOOLS

Our foremost juvenile public institution, the public school, should be very much concerned about the problem of juvenile delinquency. Court administration, preventive measures and reformatory efforts should all bear a cooperative relation to the public school system. When a boy is brought before the bar, the judge has good reason to demand more than a few bare details about the boy's career, and the school authorities should be in position to furnish more than scant facts regarding punctuality and attendance. This is partially true of all pupils who have previously shown waywardness or who have been disciplinary or refractory cases. The school has a great opportunity to serve as a clearing house for the detection and prevention of juvenile delinquency. As we shall see, most of the determinants of delinquency in the school are acts of omission rather than of commission. Opportunities for detection and prevention are woven into the fabric of the ordinary everyday function of public schools. Many of the behavior problems could often be met and judiciously dealt with in their early controllable stage if the teachers were trained to recognize the early symptoms of neurosis and anti-social tendencies. Of course the most scientific way to handle such problems is to have a psychiatric clinic attached to the school with a psychiatrist and a staff of psychiatric social workers and clinicians with problems referred to them by the teachers. Only few of the larger school systems can be so equipped; consequently the bulk of the problem falls back to the class room teacher.

The adaptation of the school to the life of the child, and the harmonizing of the one to the other in such a way as to secure the greatest benefit to the child's individual and social personality becomes a worthwhile goal. The failure of the school, in this respect, to meet the requirements of the growing child, especially the boy, makes it fraught with causative factors which become determinants of juvenile delinquency. The social contact problem in the school is very much the same as the neighborhood association. The play group is transferred from voluntary association to an involuntary one. The teacher has the problem of dealing with the child both individually and collectively. Each child has a different heredity, a different environment from any one else, and the habits resulting from these differences are not the same for any two individuals.

Jordan well describes the various types of anti-social attitudes that may grow out of these fundamental individual differences. He says, "Some children develop antagonistic attitudes toward the teacher and the school; toward their parents, and toward any and all who attempt in any way to thwart their desires. Like Ishmael of old, they think that every man's hand is against them and that their hands are against every man. Others, even more difficult to direct in a constructive way, take a defensive attitude toward their environment, withdraw into themselves and live within their own fancies. Still others

develop the pernicious habits of giving excuses to save themselves from blame or of taking refuge in the realm of fiction. In these conditions appear the need for developing responsibility in the school children, for developing the right attitudes toward others, toward property and toward authority. Discipline thus conceived consists in developing a thoroughly socialized individual."²⁴

Companionship with others of the same age in the school entails innumerable conflicts, which arouse in the child the indistinct desire to have his interests protected against others and also to awaken in him an understanding of the necessity of adapting himself to others, to surroundings and, we might say, to the state, on a small scale.

The average teacher in our public schools dealing with early adolescents often does not realize that each day is merely a narrow bridge connecting the rich past history of the individual with the future. The past can be known, but the future is purely speculative. The child's cultural background projects into his present and future, and is largely responsible for his behavior. It is, indeed, a treasure of valuable information, which in most cases remains untouched and unapplied in dealing with the present intricate behavior problems.

An important role of the school is the detection of pre-delinquents. Since our greatest task in dealing with juvenile delinquency is one of prevention we must use every means possible to identify children, who, because of defective nature or nurture, show signs of unsocial or anti-social conduct. Almost every case in this study, as far as we could determine, had already had trouble in school before becoming delinquent. We do not say that all delinquent tendencies can be detected and checked in our public schools. The home, as we tried to point out in Chapter I, has already wielded a mighty influence on the child before entering school, and of course continues to do so as long as the child remains in the parental home. It is a well known fact that most schools are very inefficient, many of them being almost as inefficient as the homes when it comes to understanding the child. These schools are inefficient because they fail to teach their pupils the nature of the world in which they live, because they do not train them vocationally, because they fail to develop in them a love for suitable labor, and because they do not teach their subjects to the children in terms of their everyday life. In other words, they fail to socialize and vitalize education. On account of lack of interest in their studies many pupils become truants, and some of them become vagrants, and eventually graduate with a life of crime.

The school can very easily discover children who are of the weak willed, irresponsible type, who invariably behave as those with whom they are thrown. These same individuals in the school often become the gang members in delinquency dominated by autocratic leaders, if not properly handled. Healy says that learning to recognize influences that lead to delinquency "is to achieve the vantage ground from which society can learn to protect itself against the continued growth of delinquency and crime in its midst."²⁵ Studies made in

²⁴*Educational Psychology*, pp. 405-406.

²⁵"Mental Factors in Crime," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. XII, p. 761.

this field show that tendencies that lead to delinquency certainly appeared in the school life of the child. They also show an apparent inability on the part of the school to interpret the failure of the children, and, sometimes, even to recognize the failure. Conduct disturbances, like disease, may be classified according to their origin as environmental or constitutional, and in either instance some modification can be brought about by appropriate treatment.

There is already a very fair sense of social responsibility in our public schools in relation to physical health, but it should be just as strong in relation to the mental and social health of the child. The advent of the visiting teacher and child guidance clinics is a distinct sign of progress in this respect. The addition of these workers to the school staff should spur the teachers on to greater effort, for they should realize that with the added help of these skilled workers success will be more likely to follow their efforts. Omaha and Boone County (of which Columbia is the county seat) happen to be experimental points for the visiting teacher plan. As yet we are unable to determine statistically to what extent the visiting teachers are preventing delinquency. The following case is illustrative:

Susie, a fifteen year old girl with a mental age of ten, was brought before the juvenile court for immorality. She was an adopted child, and her foster father was upset over one rather serious episode of Susie's running away for two days. The father followed a plan of severe and rigid discipline which revealed an utter lack of confidence in the girl. A definite antagonism grew up between the father and the girl, who was seeking companions, and resented what she considered an unjust supervision. The visiting teacher was called in by the court. After having a conference with the girl and the foster parents she reported to the court. The girl was placed on probation to the visiting teacher, to whom she was required to report once a week. The teacher did her best to show her a good time, and thus won her confidence. She tried in vain to get the father to see Susie's many good traits. The antagonism in the home continued. Susie did fairly well in school. Finally, the visiting teacher had the girl sent to a Children's Home, and kept in close touch with her. The superintendent of this home became suddenly angry at her and had her sent to the reform school. She did well there. The visiting teacher kept in close personal touch with her and finally secured her release to the foster parents with the definite understanding that they would do the right thing toward Susie and furnish her a peaceful home. The last report showed that a harmonious relationship had been established. Thus perhaps an adolescent girl was saved from a career of crime.

It was exceedingly difficult to find many facts on mental deficiency of the 75 cases of delinquents studied in Columbia. Hence the mental status of only a few cases could be obtained. Mental tests revealed that five whites out of 40 cases, two girls and three boys, were subnormal. Of 23 Negroes, six boys and one girl were mentally inferior. The per cent of colored defectives was 30, but that of the whites was only 12.5. The 23 colored delinquents had five near relatives who were mentally inferior; the 40 whites had four. The data along this line that we obtained on the 1145 cases in Omaha were very unreliable; so they are omitted. Classification of delinquents by "intelligence levels" does not, and never can, represent the whole individual, or even the

elements most essential for the students of delinquent tendencies to know, such as the individual's habits of mind and body, the forces which drive him, his motivating experiences, his reaction to his environment, his ideation as related to delinquency, causations in the environment itself, and his special resources of mind and body that can be utilized for re-educative treatment. In our opinion it is unsafe to draw definite conclusions as to mental abnormalities being one of the primary or the most important determinants in juvenile delinquency as classed by some writers,²⁶ since we find that so many indirect factors are closely connected with them. We conclude, however, that the I. Q. is not a determinant of juvenile delinquency any more than it is the assurance of success or failure in life. It is undeniable that the inherent potentialities of a child represent future possibilities to some extent. The degree of cultivation, care, guidance, nurture, education and training determine to what extent the child will realize his innate potentialities. Really the mental status of the child is a determinant in delinquency which, as yet, cannot be scientifically measured or determined directly and objectively.

Very much of juvenile delinquency is a result of ignorance of the legal rules and moral codes of society. The child does not always know what society expects of him. The interpretation of the laws given by the parents differ widely, due to their attitude and lack of knowledge of the purpose and function of the laws. In many cases the parents are antagonistic toward certain laws, such as the compulsory attendance law, prohibition law and others. Early in life the child acquires an unsocial, if not, an anti-social attitude. The public schools have an unlimited responsibility, as well as a great opportunity to reduce and prevent crime by overcoming this social ignorance. The child should be taught what society expects of him and why. The teaching of citizenship should begin in the kindergarten and continue through the high school. The public school is the only institution in the community which can interpret the laws and moral codes of society in an unbiased manner.

The child is not intentionally unsocial or anti-social. In the course of our investigation one boy when asked why he had misbehaved replied, "I would just as soon have done the right thing if I had known it, but I had to do something." This boy is one of many thousands in the same situation. Our public schools have failed to teach the fundamental principles of social education. Ellwood says, "Crime can be eliminated only through a careful training of each new individual in society as he comes on the stage of life, so that he will be law abiding, respecting the rights of others and the institutions

The civic and moral development of every child should be a real challenge to the school and the individual teacher. The following case illustrates what can be done by the individual teacher. An American family consisting of seven children and the parents lived in very poor environmental surroundings. The parents both worked and the children were left alone. Four of the five older children had served or were serving terms in prison. of society."²⁷

²⁶Compare with Boche's "Delinquency and the Responsibility of School Toward It." *National Ed. Association*, 1909, pp. 100-101.

²⁷*Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 379.

The other came under the influence of a socially minded teacher when he was twelve years of age. She not only taught him citizenship in the classrooms, but she assisted him in securing membership in the city Young Men's Christian Association and other worthwhile groups. The mother pointed to him with pride as the only member of her family who had made good. At the time of the interview he had a good position in Chicago. The mother attributed his success to the influence and teaching of this teacher. We need more teachers in our public schools who know how and are willing to teach real socialized education.

We found that the average age of the delinquent boys for all offenses was 14.5 years and for delinquent girls 14.4 years, while the average grade reached in school was the seventh with nearly one-fourth in the fifth grade and below. This means that the average delinquent is retarded nearly two years. Table IV shows that 34.9 per cent of the delinquents were in high school at the time of their delinquency, but 65 per cent were in the grades. The following table shows the distribution of 209 cases according to school grade and sex:

Grade in School Attained by 209 Delinquents in Omaha, 1922-1927

	TOTAL		SEX	
	Number	Per cent	Boys	Girls
Total Number of Cases	209	100	175	34
Grade				
University	1	.5	1	0
High School	73	34.9	57	16
Eighth	26	12.4	23	3
Seventh	38	18.1	32	6
Sixth	22	10.6	18	2
Fifth	16	7.7	15	1
Fourth	21	10.1	19	2
Third	6	2.8	4	2
Second	6	2.8	6	0

Parmelee says, "It is impossible to measure directly the influence of faulty education upon criminality. Numerous statistics have been secured which indicate that the percentage of illiteracy among criminals is much higher than it is among the general population. This seems to indicate a causal relation between ignorance and criminality. Some may account for this association between ignorance and criminality by the fact that poverty causes much of the crime, and that the poor are likely to be ignorant because they lack opportunities to be educated. But the truth probably is that ignorance gives rise to crime both directly and also through the poverty which it causes."²⁸ Illiterate parents frequently have low ambitions for their children. We found a close correlation between the illiteracy of the parents and juvenile delinquency. In the five neighborhoods which will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV, were 48 per cent of all the illiterates in Omaha. As we shall show in Chapter V, there is a close relation of illiteracy and economic status to juvenile delin-

²⁸*Criminology*, p. 225.

quency. Suffice it to say, wherever we found the most illiteracy we found poverty closely woven with it. Delinquency followed in the aftermath of this combination. Low standards of living and delinquency were found to be closely related, which is in turn an expression of ignorance.

In Columbia both the whites and the colored averaged sixth grade. There was only one illiterate in 67 cases. Twenty cases, or 29.8 per cent, were in attendance in the local high schools, and six, or 7.4 per cent, had graduated from high school. It is interesting to note the relation of education to leadership in crime. Twelve leaders were interviewed, five of which were Negroes and seven were whites. Three of the Negro leaders were high school graduates, one had reached the freshman year in college, and the other was in the third grade. Four of the seven whites were in high school, and three in the grades. In only one case did a leader have any vision or plan, and his was to become a polished criminal. As to the plans of other delinquents we found that four white boys had plans as follows: one to be a farmer, one an artist, one a painter and one a jeweler. Six colored boys had plans as follows: two to attend Howard University, one "to get a job," two to study music and one to be a mechanic.

Many cases of delinquency have arisen from friction in the schoolroom arising from a curriculum poorly suited to the individual child. Ignorance of child nature and psycho-social influences play an important role. Rebellion and truancy follow friction, and thus there arises a disrespect for authority and conventions. Truancy is the first step toward initiation into a career of crime. It is not uncommon to find stealing, staying out at night and sexual misbehavior associated with truancy. This relationship is easily understood when we realize that truant boys and girls find great opportunity for associating with bad companions who are themselves usually truants.

The total number of cases of truancy handled by the court and probation officers in Omaha for the six year period studied were distributed as follows:

1922	42
1923	41
1924	61
1925	51
1926	47
1927	96

As we see by the graph, there was a gradual fluctuation for the first five years, but a sudden and enormous increase in 1927. We could find only one authentic reason for this sudden increase, and that was the loss of one of the attendance officers from the city school staff. The average age of boys who

were truant was 13.3, and that of the girls 14.²⁹ Truancy was found to be at the basis of at least 90 per cent of the delinquent cases studied, as far as we could determine. In some cases it was for only a few days while others were chronic. Many cases of truancy in its early stage are efficiently handled, thus saving the child from a career of delinquency.

In Columbia there were during the same period 50 cases of truancy out of the 75 cases studied. This means that 66.6 per cent of the delinquents handled by the court in the six years had been before the court some time for truancy. We also found a close correlation in Columbia between truancy and broken homes, since 89 per cent of the truancy cases came from broken homes. A correlation of athletics with truancy was discovered from interviews with delinquent boys. Of the 50 cases of truancy only five, or 10 per cent, liked athletics of any kind, that is, organized and supervised games. This emphasizes the constructive influence of properly directed recreation as a means of preventing delinquency which we discussed in the preceding chapter.

Offenses against social regulation cover a number of delinquencies varying widely in import. Truancy is found under this general classification. It was unknown as an offense before the compulsory school attendance laws were passed. We found some cases where the parents were very defiant against this form of regulation. This was most frequently noticed among immigrant families, especially the more recent ones. The following cases are representative:

The case of a 14 year old girl whose parents were born in Italy, showed parental attitude toward law enforcement. She had reached the eighth grade in the public schools. The family consisted of eight children and their parents, all living in a crowded apartment over the grocery store run by her father. The girl was brought to the court as an habitual truant but was released when the parents promised to see that she was kept in school. The promise was not kept, as the parents were defiant against the court, the schools and every person who tried to explain the value of education to the family. The girl was of course punished as a result of the attitude of the parents.

Another case is that of a family which consisted of five children and parents living in a five room, dirty, poorly kept house. The parents came from Italy. The father was a laborer at one of the packing plants at the time of the interview. He seemed to take very little interest in his family's well-being. The delinquent son was eleven years old and in the fourth grade at school. His first offense was truancy when he insisted on staying out of school and "loafing" on street corners and in pool halls. His next offense was somewhat higher in the scale of criminality. He broke into a corner drug store in his community and stole several articles. His parents were utterly indifferent to his conduct, even so much as refusing to be present when the boy was arraigned before the court. He was placed in the Juvenile Detention Home for a few days, and was later sent to the State Reform School, where he was when the investigation was made.

The following table shows the distribution of offense, sex and average age of offenders for each offense, and the comparative relation of truancy to the

²⁹The compulsory school attendance laws of Nebraska and Missouri require attendance through the age of 16 unless otherwise provided.

main offenses committed by the 1145 cases. Truancy composed 14.8 per cent of the total cases studied. Boys were almost twice as truant as girls. Immorality ranked equal to truancy in number, but of course was confined mostly to girls, as sexual offenses as such are infrequent among boys. Most of the girls who were immoral committed the offenses while they were truant. On the other hand, the boys exceeded the girls in theft offenses by more than 14 times. Petty theft is a common pastime in semi-organized gangs while truant.

TABLE V
Offenses of 1145 Delinquents in Omaha, 1922-1927

	TOTALS			SEX	
	Number	Per cent	Average Age	Boys	Girls
Total Number of cases	1145	100		814	331
Offense					
Truancy	169	14.3	13.6	109	60
Theft	257	22.4	14.0	240	17
Auto Theft	53	4.6	16.7	52	1
Incorrigibility	262	22.9	14.1	174	88
Immorality	169	14.8	14.4	30	139
Breaking and Entering	47	4.1	15.0	47	0
Disturbing Property	29	2.5	13.4	29	0
Running Away	42	3.6	13.0	30	12
Fighting	8	.8	14.2	7	1
Reckless Driving and Speeding	28	2.4	15.5	27	1
Forgery	12	1.1	14.6	12	0
Miscellaneous Minor Offenses	69	6.0	13.5	57	12

In this discussion we have tried to point out a few of the determinants in juvenile delinquency which are found in the public schools and to call attention to some salient facts as revealed by our data.

Summarizing these, we find that inadequate facilities for recreation, rigid and elastic school system, poor attendance laws and lax enforcement, wrong grading, unsympathetic teachers, undesirable attitude of pupils towards the teachers, failure to meet racial and mental differences by modification of the course of study, unfit and unwilling children put through the same training as others, bad school companions, bad codes of morals and lack of socialized education are the chief determinants of delinquency in the public schools.

The object of all education is good citizenship, whether it be given by the home, school, church, or any other sanctioned social organization. If the children of today could be instilled with the burning idea that they owe society a life well lived, delinquency and all behavior problems would be greatly reduced. The school that fails to turn out the highest type of citizens fails in its function, no matter what its other virtues may be. Thus we may safely say that the school that solves the problem of good citizenship and socialized education solves a major portion of the problem of delinquency in the life of the neighborhood and of the community at large.

CHAPTER IV

DETERMINANTS OF DELINQUENCY IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

We will now direct our attention to the study of the neighborhood as one of the primary groups and determine, as far as we can, the forces therein which contribute to juvenile delinquency. The neighborhood is characterized by face-to-face association, and it illustrates most clearly the psychology of individual interaction and group behavior. All the arrangements for human living in the neighborhood are such as to favor the transmission of custom and tradition. The family, the playgroup and the neighborhood become the first school for the child. He acquires here the social traditions, social attitudes and social values of his group. They make him what he is, socially, and in order to understand him we must study him in this setting. Ellwood says, "The problems of sociology can be much better attacked through the study of such groups, than the study of society at large, or association in general."³⁰ The ideals of freedom, justice and good citizenship originate largely in the experience of neighborhood life. Culture patterns are formed, diffused and transmitted through direct association.

Burgess refers to the neighborhood as a "cultural community." He says that the neighborhood "includes those sentiments, forms of conduct, attachments of ceremonies which are characteristic of a locality, which have either originated in the area or have become identified with it. Neighborhood institutions like the church, the school and the settlement are essentially cultural institutions."³¹ Local cultures differ according to the experience of the groups. The moral and social codes of the neighborhood may not be in harmony with those of the larger social unit of which it is a part. This phenomenon often gives rise to behavior problems. The point of conflict of cultures of the smaller group with the larger one represents a shifting of loyalties which is objectively expressed by disorganization and delinquency. Thus delinquency is in some sense, perhaps, the measure of the failure of our community organization to function. This conflict of cultures is most clearly demonstrated in our immigrant neighborhoods. It is felt most intensely in the homes. The parents' culture is deeply rooted in that of their native lands, while the children acquire the culture of America. The children's culture thus fosters traits of independence, personal resourcefulness, individuality and desire for personal distinction. When these traits are displayed in the homes, they clash with the culture of the parents. For the most part, these children live in different worlds of interest and experience. They and their parents can hardly understand one another or appreciate one another's feelings. Frequently one sees immigrant parents struggling to adopt the new culture. The situation becomes more tense by the inability to resist successfully the invasion of the

³⁰*Psychology of Human Society*, p. 13.

³¹*The City*, p. 145.

newer cultures rapidly acquired by the children. Parents, children and outside social agencies are unable to recognize and integrate at will the incompatible elements. In the end each individual member comes to be bound by his personal codes of behavior. Family chaos then replaces customary regulated behavior, and discipline is lost. The child seeks to escape the results of family life through association with the gang which results in delinquency. Often cases of these children are brought before the court for being beyond parental control, and for general incorrigibility.

Some of the causative factors of delinquency in immigrant neighborhoods are enumerated by Thompson in the following quotation: "The disproportionately large concentration of the foreign born in general in the urban centers constitutes an unfavorable influence. Unfamiliarity with our language, laws, customs and institutions often involves them, many times unawares, in conflict with our laws and municipal regulations, and makes them technically criminal though they may not be actually so. Loose sympathetic contact with their children, upon whom the national assimilative forces act with markedly greater force and rapidity, causes loss of control over them. It is not strange, therefore, that juvenile delinquency should prevail in a larger degree among this element of our population than among any other elements."³²

We have discussed in more or less detail the cultural and social factors arising in the average immigrant neighborhood that determine juvenile delinquency, since three of the five neighborhoods analyzed are characterized by foreign elements. Omaha has a very large foreign born population, especially for an inland city. The 1920 census³³ shows that 45.1 per cent of all children between the ages five and 19 inclusive in Omaha were of foreign and mixed parentage; 50.5 per cent were of native born white parentage and 4.4 per cent were Negroes. Compared with this, we found that 37.3 per cent of the 911 juvenile delinquents, whose nativity we were able to obtain, were of foreign born and mixed parentage; 49.5 per cent were of native born white parentage and 13.5 per cent were Negroes. The following table shows the distribution:

³²*Urbanization*, p. 498.

³³The census includes ages from 5 to 19 inclusive, while the juvenile court jurisdiction ages are from 6 to 18 inclusive.

TABLE VI

Nativity of Parents of 911 Delinquents in Omaha, 1922-1927

Nativity	TOTAL		SEX	
	Number 911	Per cent 100	Boys 601	Girls 310
American (white)	451	49.5	304	147
American (colored)	123	13.5	61	62
Italian	76	8.3	59	17
Bohemian	37	4.1	23	14
Polish	77	8.4	52	25
Irish	23	2.5	15	8
Jewish	33	3.6	27	6
Syrian	8	.9	4	4
Austrian	8	.9	5	3
Hungarian	5	.5	4	1
German	26	.3	18	8
Croatian	4	.4	2	2
Swedish	6	.6	4	2
French	4	.4	2	2
Danish	8	.9	5	3
Lithuanian	8	.9	6	2
Greek	3	.3	2	1
Mexican	4	.4	3	1
Scotch	1	.1	0	1
Roumanian	1	.1	1	0
Serbian	2	.2	2	0
Bulgarian	1	.1	1	0
Norwegian	1	.1	1	0
Japanese	1	.1	0	1

This table shows that the Italian and Polish furnish 8.3 and 8.4 per cent respectively of the foreign group of delinquents, or 16.7 per cent of those of foreign born parentage. The Bohemians come next with 4.1 per cent. The others are very evenly distributed among the remaining 19 nationality groups.

In making a cultural approach to the study of juvenile delinquency it becomes necessary to approach the subject ecologically. Culture, as a social heritage of the group implies both a locality and the result of a continuous learning process. Within these cultural areas possibilities of cultural decadence are numerous. As conflicts, or uneven diffusion of cultures, arise, cultural patterns are suddenly shattered, controls over conduct disintegrate and the impulses and wishes take various forms and expressions.

Natural areas of aggregations take place upon the basis of language, cultural backgrounds, and race. Within these areas other processes of selection inevitably take place which bring about segregation based upon vocational interests, intelligence and personal ambitions. The result is that keener, more energetic and more ambitious individuals very soon emerge and move out into

other socialized groups. Some cultural areas change completely within a few years. This constant change of economic and social status tends to bring about unrest and demoralization, which in turn are expressed in the form of juvenile delinquency. Adaptations and adjustments of adults are not so disastrous. During recent years there has been an increasing emphasis placed upon the study of juvenile behavior problems from the viewpoint of their relation to the neighborhood situation in which they occur. In "Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking," Healy and Bronner stress the neighborhood background as a causative factor in delinquency. This opinion is clearly expressed in the following quotation: "We have long been thoroughly persuaded that one of the most important phases of the situation with regard to delinquency anywhere is the spirit of the community or neighborhood, difficult as this is to define. This spirit is itself evolved from many forces in the cultural history of the community." The general spirit of the neighborhood is clearly reflected in the conduct of its children. They project into society objectively the culture of the primary groups in which they live. This does not mean that every child subjected to poor environmental and cultural conditions will reflect the worse. Burt says, "Some [juvenile] natures remain unsoiled though sunk for years in mud; others are porous and penetrable, and the grime works into the grain. It is the personal reaction to a given situation that makes a person a criminal, not the situation itself. It is not bad surroundings alone that create delinquency, but the workings of these bad surroundings on the thoughts and feelings of a susceptible mind."³⁴

The base map of Omaha on page 14 referred to in Chapter II, represents the geographical location of the homes of 1000 delinquent boys and girls who appeared before the juvenile court during the six year period studied in this report. It is very obvious that there are certain definite foci of infection which furnish a large portion of the delinquents. On closer observation one finds that these centers are definite cultural areas with cultures peculiar to themselves. Thus for a more detailed ecological study we selected the five main, definite neighborhoods which furnished the greatest number of delinquents. These areas, representing only a fractional part of the total area of the city, includes one-third of all the cases studied. Each area or neighborhood represents divergent cultural forces which are fairly representative. We herewith propose to present brief analyses of each area to ascertain as far as possible the social determinants in their high rate of delinquency. We assume that progress can best be made by studying and treating the juvenile delinquent in his native cultural environment.

Neighborhood 1

This district is located just south and east of the packing plants. It covers an area of about 50 square blocks. There were not less than 14 different nationalities within this area. Most of them were of southern European descent. The largest groups were the Roumanians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Croatians, Mexicans, Czecho-Slovakians and Bohemians. A few Negro families scattered here and there over the district added to its demotic

³⁴*The Young Delinquent*, p. 79.

composition. The houses and streets are in very poor condition. As the district extends westward the physical conditions become much better, and here the white families predominate. Outwardly the houses appear very much dilapidated, but within they are clean and orderly in most cases. Small yards, strongly fortified with fences and carefully guarded by dogs, enclose each small house. The people were very suspicious and hesitant in answering questions. Many cases of extreme over-crowded conditions were found. The smoke and odors from the packing plants added to the general unwholesome conditions.

The commercial interests of the district were represented by one drug store, eleven soft drink parlors, twelve grocery stores, two ice stations, five restaurants, two tailor shops, one shoe shop, one barber shop, five pool halls, three dry-goods stores, two garages, one bakery and one fruit or vegetable store. There were eleven distinct places of worship in this neighborhood. Within the radius of two blocks we counted five churches—four Catholic and one Negro Baptist church. The Omaha Social Settlement is located on the northern boundary of this neighborhood. The one public school is certainly cosmopolitan and has a very heterogeneous student body.

This neighborhood is characterized by at least 16 different nationality groups. This accounts for so many churches and parochial schools connected with them. The culture of each group culminates in a "national" church and school, and, to a great extent, their own butcher and grocer. These centers keep alive the cultural backgrounds of the various national groups. Not only that, but they serve as media for the transmission of traditions and customs to their offspring. They have very little opportunity to contribute to or borrow from the American culture. Each group has its own language, however, the school children are required to learn English in the parochial schools. Family unity and continuity are preserved very efficiently, and one observes little of the chasm and clash of cultures between generations. The economic status is very low, as most of them work irregularly and seasonally at the packing plants.

With such general cultural background one might ask wherein the determinants of juvenile delinquency lie. In the first place, delinquency problems arise in respect to conflict with the civil laws of the city, state and nation. The immigrants seem not to understand why they should be required to observe the laws of America when they can retain all their native customs. They dislike restrictions on so-called personal freedom. Most juvenile delinquent cases in the neighborhood arose from trespassing, petty thievery and truancy. The parents were especially bitter against our compulsory school attendance laws. Forty of the 1000 cases were located in this area. This is not extremely high, but much higher than in the city in general.

Neighborhood 2

This neighborhood really composes three districts in respect to nationalities, but from a cultural standpoint is fairly homogeneous. It covers an area of about 96 square blocks. The northern and northwestern parts of the district are inhabited largely by Arabian Syrians. The southwestern is largely

Bohemians; the major portion of the neighborhood is Italian and Negro. The housing and general physical conditions are poor. A few large, old houses, remnants of early aristocracy, are found, but most of the houses are only two or three-room structures. One can see row after row of tiny houses just as close together as possible. Usually a family of five to seven is living in each of these. Practically every yard has its separate fence and gate securely fastened. The section of the neighborhood near the river is very deplorable. Smoke from the trains, dampness from the river, dust and mud from the unpaved streets, and the over-crowded conditions make a fertile field for almost any kind of anti-social behavior.

This district has 20 grocery stores, two barber shops, two drug stores, five pool halls, four lunch rooms, one general store, four ice stations, one bakery, one funeral home, two oil stations, two shoe shops, one tailor shop, one dry-goods store, two garages, one motion picture show and two public halls. We can readily see that this neighborhood is densely populated. The two churches and three public schools, the Christ Child Center, a social settlement of the Catholic church, and the Omaha City Mission constitute the educational institutions of this district.

The cultural history of this neighborhood is very interesting. In the early days of the city this was the aristocratic residential section. Since then much shifting has taken place. In the last 25 years northern immigrant groups followed the aristocracy, but these were soon succeeded by the Italians and Mexicans, and now the Negroes are rapidly moving into this district. Thus the cultures have not been very deeply rooted. This has reacted on the children. They lack the stability observed in Neighborhood 1. These children attend the public schools, and are thus alienated from the cultures of their parents. Some of the Catholic priests are trying in vain to hold the younger generation to the old traditions of the parents.

The improper housing conditions help to widen the chasm that exists between the parents and the children. Much immorality and bad association were found among the girls. The average girl in this section has no place to entertain her male friends. She cannot take him into the kitchen or into the combined living and bed room lest she disturb the family, therefore, she meets him on the street corner, at the movies up town, or at a public dance hall. This soon leads to the juvenile court or perhaps to the reform school. Lack of playground and other wholesome recreational facilities, extreme poverty, dense population, and the general unrest of the people seem to be the chief determinants in the delinquency of the 47 cases found in this area. Again, much adult crime such as bootlegging and street fights occur in this neighborhood. All of this naturally has its influence upon the children. While investigating this neighborhood, we found that it was not uncommon for women to appear at an open doorway or window and order us to leave the neighborhood as quickly as possible. A general atmosphere of crime prevails.

Neighborhood 3

Unlike the two previous districts discussed, this one is located at the edge of a very fine section of the city and is the center of almost all kinds of adult vice. It has more juvenile delinquency to its area than any other center in the

city. It covers about 60 square blocks. Most of the entire eastern boundary is a series of railroad tracks and yards. The population is made up of all kinds and classes of people with no particular group predominating. The objective environmental conditions show a general appearance of filth and shiftlessness. The houses are poorly kept and greatly in need of repair. Half torn off screens, window lights out and the outside of the houses badly in need of paint characterize the general outside appearance. The yards and streets are also very untidy. Yet in all of this the people seem to be happy, good natured and contented. The economic status of the neighborhood is not especially low, just about the average for the day laborer. Many of the boys sell papers on the streets or have regular paper routes. No particular industry is located in this district.

There are eight grocery stores, one dancing academy, one garage, one shoe shop, three drug stores, one wrecking company and one ice station which constitute the commercial interests of this neighborhood. Three churches and two public schools are the only educational institutions.

The cultural background of this neighborhood is characterized in no special way. Most of the inhabitants have lived here for many years, some of which are immigrants and Negroes. Sexual crimes among the older boys and girls are very common. One of the public school grounds is the community rendez-vous for such offenses. The attitude of these people toward play and recreation was touched upon in Chapter II in connection with the discussion of the demonstration playground. Case after case reveal the fact that the high rate of juvenile delinquency in this neighborhood is due, to a great extent, to the lack of properly directed recreation. The children do not know how to play together. They are unsocial, and this frequently leads to antisocial behavior. Seventy-four of the cases of juvenile delinquency were located in this area. Offenses against the railroad, such as playing on the tracks, shooting out lights, and petty theft were common. Aside from their junking interests the railroads provide one of the best liked playgrounds of the gang. There is something about a moving train, whether used as a target or to ride on, that fascinates the boy. It is difficult for these children, as well as their parents, to understand why the sweepings from the empty freight cars should not be appropriated to feed their chickens; or why coal dropped from the cars should not be carried home. If the railroad companies would fence their property, less juvenile delinquency would occur in this neighborhood as well as in others that border on railroad property.

With the exception of the three small churches, there were no other character building organizations. It is significant that this was the only one of the neighborhoods studied which was so deficient in this respect. It apparently has been left alone to steer its own course. These people are just craving for an opportunity to be taught and directed, and it behooves the larger civic community to lend a hand in this significant task.

Summarizing the determinants in the juvenile delinquency found in this neighborhood, we conclude that lack of properly directed recreational facilities is most significant. Street trades, unprotected railroad property and deficiency in social and spiritual training come next in order. The lack of confidence on the part of outside leaders and the reputation of the neighborhood as a whole have a direct influence on behavior attitudes of the youth.

Neighborhood 4

This is the Ghetto of Omaha. It is not the home of all the Jews of the city but only of the more orthodox groups. This neighborhood extends over an area of about 40 square blocks. The houses are mostly of the bungalow type built close together. They are fairly clean and well kept. A number of Negro families have moved into this Jewish district, taking advantage of the cheap rentals of the more dilapidated houses. At the rate the old orthodox Jew is disappearing it will not be long until the entire neighborhood will be occupied by the Negroes. It is pathetic to see the struggle that the older generation of the Jews is making to retain and perpetuate the rich Hebrew culture of Biblical times. But it seems to be all in vain, as the younger generations accept it only as a matter of form, and the once sacred Jewish holidays become so many opportunities for recreational activities. Most of the young people seek other neighborhoods as they establish their homes.

From a commercial standpoint this district contained one pool hall, one shoe shining parlor, one tailor shop, one shoe store, eight grocery stores, one meat market, two dry goods stores, one drug store, one feed store, one confectionery, two produce houses, one shoe shop, one bakery, one oil station, four cafes, one garage, three hardware stores, one tire shop, one express office, and one pool hall and barber shop combined. One Jewish Synagogue, a Negro church and a small mission constituted the religious centers of this neighborhood. This one public school cared for the neighborhood educationally. This old Jewish Synagogue is the scene of real Judaism, especially on Saturday of each week, and during their Jewish festivals.

The situation in this neighborhood was not one of a clash of cultures, as so often occurs, but the younger generations were just "outgrowing" the bounds of religious and social traditionalisms. Parental respect was high, but control was weakened. Lack of proper places to play and this situation in the homes were the chief causative factors of juvenile delinquency as far as we could find. Of the 34 cases studied in this area four of them were Negroes.

Neighborhood 5

The Harlem of Omaha covers an area of about 350 square blocks and contains a population of approximately 10,000 Negroes. Within the last nine years 50 per cent of the population of this district have come from other urban centers, and about the same number have left the neighborhood. The general drift has been toward the South. About three per cent of the population is transient.

The houses of the neighborhood are mostly frame cottages and bungalows. Forty per cent of the population own their homes; 35 per cent rent and 25 per cent are roomers. The home and family life is above that found in the other neighborhoods studied. Often several families occupy the same house, thus causing congestion. In a majority of the families, the father, mother and all children above 16 years of age work out. It is interesting to note that in the homes of the poorest families can be found a few books, newspapers and magazines.

The cultural life of the Negro is closely linked with his church and his fraternal orders. We found that approximately 20 per cent of the total population were members of fraternal organizations. About 35 per cent were members of the 19 churches in this district distributed among six denominations. Most of the churches were unfinished and deeply in debt. Petty strife and factions within and among the different churches were very obvious. About 14 per cent of the children of juvenile court age attended Sunday School. The churches maintained a very limited amount of social and recreational activity. The Presbyterian church has a gymnasium, the Catholic church a playground, and the colored branch of the Christ Child Center has some recreational facilities.

From an educational standpoint we found only 1643 of the approximately 5000 children of school age in the four public and one parochial schools. Illiteracy among the total population was 12 per cent. The principal recreations of this neighborhood were dancing, pool and card playing, and baseball. Dancing, pool and card playing were commercialized. There were nine pool halls, which ranged from poor to fairly good. These serve as "training schools" for future criminals. About 90 per cent of the children had no other place to play except in the streets. The school grounds may not be used after school hours or during the summer months. One small, poorly equipped, municipal playground has recently been established, which serves more as an athletic field than as a neighborhood playground. There were three dance halls in the neighborhood, two of which were controlled by private parties and one by a fraternal organization. Theater accommodations were limited to one motion picture house with a seating capacity of 540. The suggestive type of pictures were usually shown. The average weekly attendance was 1680, over half of which were children and young people under 21 years of age.

Both private and public relief agencies gave aid to many families in this neighborhood. Twenty-five per cent of the recipients of Mothers' pensions in the city are located in this area. Very little extreme poverty was found. Seventy per cent of the workers are day laborers and domestics. There are a few professional men and women who are the leaders of their own race. The average annual incomes range from \$700 for domestics and common laborers to \$2,500 for professional men.

Theft and immorality were the charges against the majority of the juvenile offenders. Fifty per cent of the 122 cases of juvenile delinquency in this area were first offenders. Serious offenses have remained about the same since 1922, but petty misdemeanors, which are handled only by the probation officers, have increased 75 per cent during the six year period reported on. The ratio of boy and girl offenders remains about the same as that of the whites. The lack of wholesome recreational facilities, instability of the churches and mobility of the population are strong causative factors of juvenile delinquency in this district. The Negro boys and girls are easily led, great imitators, and are thus often used as "tools" by the whites for many offenses, as is shown in many cases. Homes in which economic conditions compel the mother to work out, leaving the children at home unsupervised during the day and after school, frequently furnish one delinquent child or more. Low standards of morality among the adults are often acquired by the offspring,

especially the girls. Much of the theft is committed by boys in semi-organized gangs.

The following table shows that Negro children contributed a disproportionately large number of cases of delinquency to the city juvenile courts.

TABLE VII
Juvenile Delinquency in Eight Cities³⁵

City	Estimated Negroes in Total Population	Negroes in Total Juvenile Cases
Richmond (1922-24)	31.5%	41.0%
Chicago (1925)	5.0%	16.0%
Indianapolis (1925)	12.0%	35.0%
Dayton (1923)	6.0%	27.0%
Gary (1925)	14.0%	41.0%
Memphis (1925)	31.0%	48.0%
Charleston (1925)	47.0%	75.0%
Omaha* (1922-28)	5.4%	13.2%

The significance of the above facts is important so far as all children are concerned, but especially important with reference to the Negro group, because municipalities rarely provide play facilities that are adequate to the needs of adolescent Negro youths. Omaha is no exception to the rule.

Omaha corresponds very closely to Chicago, Gary and Indianapolis. Each of these cities shows a delinquent rate almost three times their proportion of population. The southern cities show a much lower rate than the northern cities. Woofer says, "There can be no doubt that well planned and effective recreational and character building agencies can be effective in reducing Negro juvenile delinquency."³⁶

In summarizing this chapter, we found that our study of these five neighborhoods revealed the following determinants³⁷ in the juvenile delinquency occurring in these respective areas: (1) Clash between neighborhood cultures. (2) Conflicts between cultures of the young and old generations. (3) Lack of proper recreational facilities. (4) Poor housing and physical environmental conditions. (5) Traditional crime codes. (6) Breakdown of spiritual and social institutions. (7) Poverty and its accompanying disastrous forces. (8) Instability and unrest of the population. No doubt there were many others on which we were unable to secure any tangible data.

³⁵Woofer, *Negro Problems in Cities*, p. 227.

*Omaha added.

³⁶Ibid., p. 227.

³⁷Compare with Briggs, "Factors Contributory to Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law*, Vol. XVII, p. 531.

CHAPTER V

THE CORRELATION OF DELINQUENCY WITH OUTDOOR RELIEF

In the neighborhoods just pictured we found much poverty and human distress. Some of it was temporary, but a great deal of it had become more or less "hereditary." For several generations families seemed to have been unable to rise above the mire of poverty. This means a high rate of dependency, which calls for much outdoor relief. Relief is no longer an individual matter, nor can it be successfully administered purely for the purpose of purging the individual's soul. Its administration is a community problem, and if rightly administered it becomes a means of preventing many social ills which have a tendency to be closely associated with poverty and dependency. Social work should center its attention upon the building of constructive self-respect in the recipient, and thus help the individual to attain status as a member of society. Juvenile delinquency is not often considered a direct product of poverty or low economic status, but in many cases such conditions provide a "culture" for the maturation of criminal tendencies. On the other hand poverty and low standards of living are frequently found in the criminal and ignorant classes. This is why some of the modern writers³⁸ assert that poverty and ignorance are indirect causes of delinquency. These conditions are closely associated with delinquency, but it is difficult to say to what extent they are causative factors. However, our findings in this study show a surprising relationship.

With the above hypothesis in mind we selected at random 500 cases from the 1145 cases in Omaha, previously mentioned, and made a careful analysis of them. Three hundred and eighteen of them were boys and 182 girls. After checking the names of the parents with the files of the Social Service Exchange, we found that 225 cases or families, or 45 per cent, were registered for having received some kind of aid from public and private relief agencies. In Columbia 23, or 46 per cent, of the white families and five, or 26 per cent, of the Negro families who furnished delinquents to the court were aided by the Public Welfare Society in some material way. This means that 28 of a total of 69 cases, or 40.5 per cent, checked with the files of the Public Welfare Society, were registered for having received aid. Summarizing, we found that in Omaha 45 per cent of the 500 families furnished delinquent children to the court during the period of six years, and 40.5 per cent of 69 families in Columbia were registered on the records of public and private outdoor relief agencies sometime near or just preceding the behavior difficulties.

If we probe into conditions in these families and search for factors which might have a bearing on the behavior of the children, we do so very unscientifically, as tangible data are few. No doubt in many of these cases mere shiftlessness on the part of the parents has much to do in laying the foundation

³⁸See Gillin, *Criminology and Penology*, pp. 182-184.

See Sutherland, *Criminology*, p. 169.

for improper habit formation. In the 225 cases in Omaha it was the opinion of social workers that 46 per cent of the fathers were shiftless. Of course in some cases the parents were afflicted with some chronic disease. Poor and untidy housekeeping on the part of the mothers were reported in about 25 per cent of the families.

Desires are powerful forces in the social life of every child. This is especially true for children of the poor, as their desires are not easily satisfied. They become suppressed, and thus the danger of misconduct arises. It is not uncommon to find children of the poor not only craving for the luxuries of other children with whom they come in contact, but devising means whereby some of them may be obtained. Petty thefts to secure the luxury of a picture show or of a ball game were found to be very common. Temptations to theft of various kinds become obvious. Poverty means under-nourishment and poor physical health, which, in turn, means low mental resistance to temptations. The physical health of 105 of the 225 families was obtained and graded according to poor, fair and good, as follows:

TABLE VIII

Physical Health of 105 Families in Omaha, 1922-1927

Condition	Total	Per cent
Poor	40	38.1
Fair	45	42.9
Good	20	19.0
Totals	105	100.0

This table shows that 81 per cent of these families which furnish delinquents and also received aid from public and private agencies were below the normal conditions of physical health. In visiting in the homes, we clearly discerned that under-nourishment was one of the chief factors. Closely associated with this were crowded conditions and large families, which are associated with delinquency, as we shall point out in Chapter VIII.

Although information on general employment was available in more than half of the 225 cases, only in 110 cases were the statements on occupations of the fathers specific enough to classify according to definite types. The classification according to skilled, semi-skilled and un-skilled was used. This classification is based on the length of time necessary to learn a job, and on general education necessary for it. Un-skilled jobs are those requiring slight education, and can be learned on an average in a week's time. Semi-skilled occupations call for either some education or experience or both, and are learned in periods varying from a month to a year. Skilled occupation include the usual trades, and require at least three years to learn.

TABLE IX

Type of Job Held by the Fathers of 110 Delinquents in Omaha, 1922-1927

	Total	Per cent	Occupation of all Male Population over 24 Years of Age*
Total Number of Cases	110	100.0	100.0
Skilled			
Printer	1		
Banker	1		
Plasterer	2	7.3	7.5
Mechanic	3		
Butcher	1		
Semi-skilled			
Clerk	1		
Pool hall operator.....	1		
Painter	2	7.3	36.6
Fireman	1		
Auto mechanic helper.....	2		
Carpenter	2		
Un-skilled			
Laborer	86		
Peddler	1		
Janitor	1		
Bootlegger	1	85.4	55.9
Junk dealer.....	2		
Watchmen	2		
Section hand.....	1		

This table tabulates the different jobs held under the three classifications. It shows that eight, or 7.3 per cent, of the father were skilled workers, and the same number and per cent for the semi-skilled group. As one would expect, the greatest number fell under the un-skilled classification. Ninety-four, or 85.4 per cent, fell into this group. Compared with these we see that from the study of the occupations of 71 fathers of delinquents in Columbia, four, or 5.6 per cent, were classified as skilled, 25, or 35.2 per cent, as semi-skilled, and 42, or 59.2 per cent as un-skilled. The average weekly wages of the Omaha cases was \$19.75, and of the Columbia cases, \$20.00. If steady employment and average size of American families were assured these families, it would not be necessary for nearly half of the cases studied to have to appeal to relief agencies for aid.

*The occupations of the male population in Omaha over 24 years of age were distributed as follows according to the U. S. Census of 1920: skilled, 7.5 per cent, semi-skilled, 36.6 per cent, and un-skilled, 55.9 per cent. The un-skilled of the delinquent group was 30 per cent greater than the average population, while the opposite was true with the semi-skilled groups.

TABLE X

Number of Social Service Agencies Registered on 500 Families in Omaha,
1922-1927

Number of Registrations*

	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	16	19	22	23
Number of Cases	275	72	39	27	23	18	11	7	4	4	3	3	2	5	2	1	2	1	1

TABLE XI

Type of Social Service Agencies Registered on 225 Families in Omaha

Type	Number of Registrations	Per cent
Total	829	100.0
Material Relief	267	37.2
Medical:		
Clinical	282	
Nursing	131	44.9
Dental	32	
Hospital (Exclusive of chemical)	4	
Child Guidance	76	9.2
Employment	26	3.2
Recreational	11	1.3

Tables X and XI have been tabulated directly from the reports made by the Confidential Social Service Exchange and represent all the registrations. As previously shown, 45 per cent, or 225 cases, were known to social service agencies, while 55 per cent, or 275 cases, were not known. A total of 829 separate registrations were made on 225 cases, or an average of 3.7 registrations per family. The numerical order of registration was: material relief, including groceries, clothing, fuel and rent, 267, or 32.2 per cent; medical relief, including its divisions, 449, or 54.1 per cent; child guidance, 76, or 9.2 per cent; employment, 26, or 3.2 per cent, and recreation, eleven, or 1.3 per cent. The economic status of the group was indicated by its large appeal for financial or material assistance. The gratifying large appeal for medical assistance, on the other hand, was indicative of the tremendous community resources that existed for free medical aid.

*Registration means that the family received aid from one agency until aid was no longer necessary. The case was then closed. At a later date aid was again granted and the case re-opened. In the meantime the same family may have registered with one or more agencies and received aid, but from only one at a time. Each time the case was opened or re-opened with any agency it was counted as an additional registration.

The loss of the father by death, desertion, separation or divorce means not only a broken home with all the social dangers that accompany it, but in most cases the loss of economic support for the family. This is the primary cause of much dependency. Of the 1145 cases of delinquents studied in Omaha, 25.1 per cent had been denied the guidance and support of a father during a large portion of their lives. Breckinridge and Abbott³⁹ conclude from their study of delinquency and the home in Chicago that the loss of the father is more serious than the loss of the mother, for reasons which we have above mentioned. The loss of the father is serious to both sexes. Shideler⁴⁰ says, "When a boy loses his mother, he does not encounter the great economic pressure as in the case where he loses his father. The father is able to provide for the motherless boy, while at the death of his father, either the boy or his mother must make the living. Consequently, as far as the economic factor affects boy's conduct we should expect more fatherless boys than motherless boys to become delinquent."

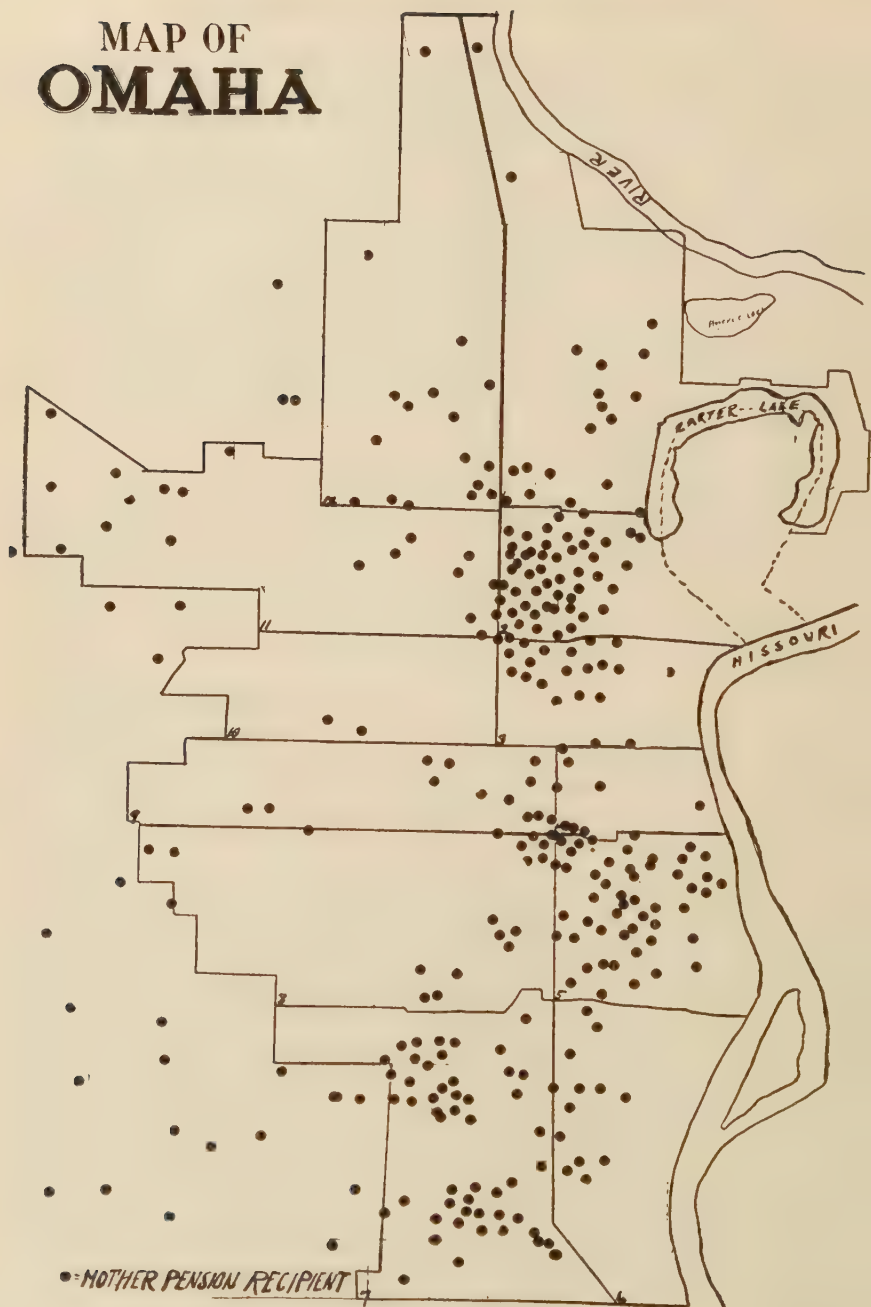
Outdoor relief properly administered meets the above situation and thus prevents much delinquency among the lower economic classes. Relief as given to many of the 225 cases registered with the agencies, is dangerous to the social morale of the recipient, as very little constructive preventive work can accompany it. We are not questioning its economic and social value for the time being, but more emphasis should be placed on constructive character building and upon the prevention of anti-social behavior in more of our relief giving agencies.

Since we found such a close correlation of juvenile delinquency with dependency and poverty, something seems to be wrong somewhere. Does it mean that modern social work is losing its personal touch and power to build constructively, or does it mean that a family which once begins to deteriorate economically becomes socially maladjusted in other ways? We have no accurate scientific way as yet to answer these questions. But let us take an illustration of constructive material relief giving which has a close bearing on the prevention of juvenile delinquency. We have reference to Mothers' Pensions. This aid comes to the rescue of the mother who has lost the economic support of her husband through death, separation, divorce, desertion, or physical or mental incapacity, so he cannot support her and the children. The mothers of 25.1 per cent of the delinquent children in Omaha who lost their fathers were trying to do both their work as a caretaker and the father's work as a wage earner. This fact accounts partially for the high rate of dependency among the delinquent families. In connection with this situation we made a careful study of 356 families that were recipients of mothers' pensions during the period of the juvenile delinquency study to determine, as far as possible, a correlation between mothers' pensions and juvenile delinquency. The map on page 46 shows the location of the 356 homes. These families included 862 children of juvenile court jurisdiction. Conditions found in these homes were appalling. They presented pictures of dire need and human distress. We found that 164 cases, or 46.5 per cent, were widows; 53, or 15.05 per cent,

³⁹*Delinquent Child and the Home*, Russell Sage Foundation (1921).

⁴⁰"Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in U. S.," *Am. Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. VIII, pp. 709-73.

MAP OF OMAHA



Map showing home location of 356 recipients of mothers' pensions.

received aid because the husband and father was afflicted in some way so that he was unable to make a living; 22, or 22.4 per cent, were mothers whose husbands had deserted them. Only 1.9 per cent were separated from their husbands, but were not divorced. In most of these cases divorce suits were pending in the court. The environmental and especially the economic conditions under which these 862 children lived were similar to those of the 225 delinquent children whose parents received aid from some social service agency. Comparisons of the map on page 46 showing the location of these families in Omaha, with the delinquency map on page 14, shows that they live in the same communities. In the pensioned families the mothers are not permitted to work away from their homes unless the court is satisfied that the children will be properly cared for in their absence. Of the 356 mothers 154, or 43 per cent, were permitted to work away from home part of the time. Their average weekly wage was \$10.65. The court attempts to grant pensions which will be adequate to obtain the things absolutely necessary for normal living. The pensions are paid regularly, and the mothers receiving them are under the constant and careful supervision of the juvenile court officials who administer the funds in Nebraska. As a result of this type of systematic relief given to needy families, we found that only 32, or 3.7 per cent, of the 862 children of these 356 mothers had been delinquent at any time. This is only .6 per cent greater than the average (3.1 per cent) of delinquency in the entire juvenile population in Omaha. When we realize that 25.1 per cent of the juvenile delinquents in Omaha lived under similar parental and environmental conditions as these 862 children, we can readily conclude that this kind of constructive work is really worthwhile as a preventive of juvenile delinquency. Hunter says,⁴¹ "If the granting of pensions is doing nothing else, it is preventing juvenile delinquency in the families in which they have been granted. In Cook County, Illinois, a careful study of 100 families whose mothers were receiving pensions was made. It was found that eight children in these families were either truant or delinquent. All but one of these were delinquent before the pension was granted. Relief is not only being given by the pension but character is being built."

There is a great need for prolonged contacts of social agencies with mal-adjusted families. To meet this, we must have more social agencies doing preventive work, especially in the field of outdoor relief, more trained workers and more resources for the task. "Before tragedy, comes wisdom; after tragedy, sympathy. We now apply the sympathy, but we continue to wait for the tragedy, even tho' we have full knowledge that it is likely to occur."⁴²

We conclude that juvenile delinquency is associated with poverty and delinquency; that such conditions are conducive to behavior problems; and that proper constructive relief to alleviate this condition and build morale is a great force in preventing juvenile delinquency.

⁴¹"Mothers' Pensions as a Preventive of Truancy and Juvenile Delinquency," *American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. VII, p. 802.

⁴²Kelso, *The Science of Public Welfare*, p. 382.

CHAPTER VI

DETERMINANTS OF DELINQUENCY IN STREET TRADES

Of the many causes of juvenile delinquency child labor in the form of street trades is one of great importance. It is not the street work itself that makes boys go wrong, but rather the conditions under which the work is done. Good wholesome work under proper conditions does not injure a growing, wide-awake youngster. In cities where studies have been made it has been found that delinquency among juveniles engaged in street trades has been from three to ten times as great as among the non-working and those otherwise employed.⁴³ The environmental conditions under which they work give chance for mischievous boyish tendencies to grow into vicious forms of experiences.

The virtues necessary to good citizenship are not inherited, but acquired. It follows that certain groups of children in every urban community are being unnecessarily subjected to temptations which their untrained, immature minds are not able to withstand. This is obviously a hideous injustice. Judge Lindsey says that society must make war against the contributory causes of juvenile delinquency on the streets of our modern cities.⁴⁴

The errand and delivery boys are engaged in very irregular work, which frequently involves excellent opportunities for stealing small articles or money. Their associations are also likely to be demoralizing. The two most demoralizing street trades which contribute to juvenile delinquency are the messenger service and that of the newsboys who sell on the down town streets. The messenger boys are subjected to temptations of the underworld. They are often compelled to deliver messages at unreasonable hours, and into demoralizing localities. They, therefore, form close associations with vice, which results in juvenile delinquency. The newsboys who sell on the street corners must be distinguished from the carrier boys. The carrier boys who have routes in the residence sections very seldom, if ever, are found in the juvenile court. Of course there are exceptions, but most of these boys are from good homes. They are engaged in a wholesome and healthful occupation, which affords an opportunity to secure training in the basic principles of business. But, on the contrary, the little fellow who stands on the street corner of a busy business section and cries his wares, rain or shine, from the end of the school day to late in the night, in many cases, and all day and evening in the summer time, is the future citizen who is in great danger. Not only are temptations for dishonesty, foul language and unfair competition constantly confronting him while on duty, but the greatest menace faces him during the waiting hours between the issues of his paper. He becomes acquainted with bad women, he is made callous to degrading sights, and is often thoroughly prepared for a career of vice and crime. Consequently many vicious young men acquire their bad habits from their experience as newsboys. In Omaha

⁴³See McGill, *Children in Street Work*, p. 3.

⁴⁴Lindsey, "Juvenile Delinquency and Employment," *Survey*, Vol. XXVII, p. 1097.

the down town newsboys for the two leading dailies spend their leisure time playing ball, shooting craps, throwing dice, and playing other games which develop the gambling tendencies; and as a consequence the pennies earned are often lost again in this manner. This loss, however, is less serious than the permanent injury to their character.

In Omaha we made a careful study of 119 newsboys who sold on the down town street corners for the Omaha World-Herald and the Omaha Bee-News. Omaha has an unusually large number of "busy corners," where patrons of the retail stores, theaters, hotels, banks, and public buildings afford a constant stream of customers for the newsboys. Scarcely one of these corners is without its group of newspaper salesboys, and the best of them are occupied from early in the morning until late at night. Fifteen per cent of these boys had court records, which is 4.8 times their normal proportion of juvenile delinquency. In a study made in Dallas, Texas, newsboys furnished two and three-fourths times their normal proportion of delinquency. When we realize that delinquency comes both from within and from without, the external causes must be thought of in terms of contacts and associations. Long hours and overwork cause breakdown in restraint.

Often the contact of the child with adult workers proves demoralizing. The young, susceptible, easily led individual acquires habits and modes of conduct that inevitably lead to his downfall. Around every newspaper distribution room can always be found morally and physically degenerate adults, who compete with the boys in the sale of papers and who are constant demoralizing forces. The boys listen with rapture to their tales of adventure. At almost any hour of the day or night newsboys and older boys and young men may be seen in and around some of the distributing rooms with no supervision except that of the street circulators and truck drivers. The management of the two papers permits the boys to sleep in the distribution rooms (which many boys do), especially on Saturday nights, when they are out late selling papers and are expected to sell again on Sunday morning. They lie on the long benches or on boxes, or even on the cement floor. Sometimes they have only a few papers under them, with papers or burlap bags for covering, even in the coldest weather. The Saturday night newsboys have ample opportunity to observe the night life in the city. Some of them count on the Saturday night "drunks" to buy them out; as they often pay as much as one dollar for ten newspapers and then return the papers to the boys to be re-sold. Sometimes they "get rough," in the language of the youthful narrators, but more often they are "just funny."

Let us notice more carefully these 119 newsboys. As to their nativity, 45 were Italians, 29 Jews, 11 white Americans, 10 Irish, 6 Negroes, 4 Bohemians, 3 Germans, and the remaining 14 were sparsely distributed among other nationalities. The Italians and Jews totaled nearly 60 per cent. Ten per cent of these lived in Neighborhood 3, referred to in Chapter IV. Sixty per cent had reached no further than the fifth and sixth grades in school. Three stated they had never gone to school at all. The ages ranged as follows:

TABLE XII

Age	Number
8	0
9	3
10	10
11	16
12	17
13	20
14	11
15	19
16	5
17	4
18	2

This table shows that more than one-half of this number of boys were thirteen years and younger—the most crucial age of childhood. The newsboy was found to be about one and one-half years retarded in school.

It was found that five of the boys were members of the boys' department of the city Young Men's Christian Association, and eight were Scouts. Twenty, or 19 per cent, of the boys had no religious or church affiliation. The average attendance at shows was slightly more than once a week per boy.

The length of time the boy had been selling papers had a close correlation with his delinquency. Most of the delinquencies occurred after he had served one or two years.

TABLE XIII

Length of Service of 112 Newsboys in Omaha, 1922-1927

Total Number of Cases	Number of Cases	Per cent
	112	100.0
Under 1 Year	23	20.5
1 Year	21	18.8
2 Years	22	19.6
3 Years	11	9.8
4 Years	14	12.5
5 Years	7	6.2
6 Years	4	3.6
7 Years	4	3.6
8 Years	5	4.5
11 Years	1	.9

This table shows that 60 per cent of the boys had been selling papers two years or less, with the greatest number under one year. Thirty-three, or 29.4 per cent were in the most dangerous period of service.

There is a tendency for newsboys to shift from city to city. This increases the demoralizing forces in their lives. One out of every nine of the 119 cases studied had sold papers in other cities before coming to Omaha. The average newsboy in Omaha works three and three-fourths hours a day and sells on an average of fifty papers, which net him a profit of thirteen and one-half cents an hour. Ten per cent of the boys' fathers were dead. Only five cases of true dependency were found in all the cases studied. This is one reason why delinquency ran so high. The boys who worked because of necessity were not so likely to become delinquent as the others. They had an incentive to save their money instead of gambling it away. Twenty-nine, or 24 per cent, claimed they were forced to work either by their parents or through necessity. Fifteen, or 12.6 per cent, of the boys reported that they did not have enough to eat, and 19, or 15 per cent, suffered from cold because of insufficient clothing. Seven, or six per cent, had no home at all. After studying the conditions under which these boys had to work and play, one wonders that the per cent of delinquency among them did not run higher than it did. It is very obvious that the two papers for which these 119 boys worked should provide proper housing and recreational facilities under wholesome supervision for their youthful employees. In that way the high delinquency rate could be reduced and serious crimes averted. Judge Ben Lindsey has well said, "Hasten the day when the government will aid in research to enable us to know as much about the causes of the troubles and misfortunes of our children as it has done in the case of hogs and cattle."⁴⁵

The following cases are typical:

Case 1

A fourteen year old boy had sold papers for two months when he was nine years of age, and had been selling again for six months when he was interviewed. He sold papers more than three hours a day on school days, stopping at seven o'clock in the evening, and eleven hours on Saturday, staying out until one o'clock on Sunday morning. On Saturdays he ate two meals at a down town restaurant. He said that he kept \$1.50 on his weekly earnings for spending money. After beginning his second period of newspaper selling he had been implicated with another boy in the theft of \$46, and had been committed to a detention home. The father and mother of this boy were living together, and the father supported the family. Both father and mother were illiterate, and thus perhaps did not realize the serious dangers to which their son was unnecessarily subjected.

Case 2

A thirteen year old newsboy had sold papers without interruption since he was nine years of age. At the time of the study he was selling about three hours on school days and on Saturdays all the afternoon and evening until 1:30 Sunday morning. He had dinner at home at 7:30 or 8 on school nights, and ate down town at a restaurant on Saturday evenings. He had a long

⁴⁵"Juvenile Delinquency and Employment," *Survey*, Vol. XXVII, p. 1097.

truancy record, having been in court four times for truancy. The boy's father and mother were living, and the father supported the family by hauling coal for a fuel company.

These cases and the many others analyzed show conclusively that newspaper selling by children on the down town streets furnishes a powerful determinant in juvenile delinquency. Yet, most of the evil effects connected with this activity are clearly preventable if the two metropolitan dailies would assume their responsibility to their young employees. The same situation is true in most other urban centers. Properly equipped and supervised club rooms in or near the distribution rooms of the papers would greatly facilitate matters. This factor and the one discussed in the next chapter challenge the social and community spirit of the great metropolitan papers of our country.

CHAPTER VII

DETERMINANTS OF DELINQUENCY IN NEWSPAPER POLICY

The newspaper, especially the metropolitan daily, is one of society's most useful and valuable means of communication. It is a real moulder of thought and opinion. When we stop to analyze the various kinds of opinion formed, and in whose minds they are formed, we are impelled to offer criticism or to call attention to impending dangers. We have reference to the newspaper's publication of crimes committed by juveniles or by adults, which publication readily serves as suggestions to immature minds. The newspaper has been called childhood's enemy. If that is true, it is a serious condemnation.

It is obvious for various reasons that stories of juvenile delinquencies should not be published. It makes the bad boy a hero in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of others. He thus gains status in his gang and neighborhood. This immediately classes him as one who has really achieved something worthy of emulation. Suggestions as to procedure are often printed in these stories. It is a great wrong to the child to have this early stigma broadcast and preserved in the newspaper files. It is especially wrong to the young girl, as she finds it more difficult to live down sinister opinion. Too often such publicity breaks down the morale of a person, or a family, who is striving to go straight. It may thus undo what has taken patient social workers and probation officers months and even years to do. Several of the cases studied bear out this point. They said, "What is the use of trying to go straight now? Everybody knows that I have committed a crime. You can't be good when they all expect you to be bad." Little do the reporters realize the injury done to the future, and especially the difficulty, if not impossibility, of social reconstruction of such cases. Not only is an injury done when the accused has really committed the offense, but sometimes an error is made by the police, and the press makes no discrimination in this respect. The following case reveals such facts:

Just as a woman was alighting from a street car in front of a grocery store on a busy business street in Omaha, she was robbed of her purse. The street lights were out, but she claimed that the thief wore a dark suit. A lad of 15 dressed in his play clothes came hurrying into the grocery store to get supplies for the evening meal. As he was leaving, two policemen arrested him, searched him, but found nothing. The woman was called to identify him. She was not sure, but felt confident that he was the person. People near who knew the boy insisted upon his innocence and asked that he be released. The officers refused to release him. He was locked in jail with a motley crowd of vagrants and criminals, was grilled by detectives, and in the morning brought before juvenile authorities and released. The accounts of the theft and arrest of this boy were heralded by the early morning issues of the daily papers. There was no extenuation and no vindication. A friend of the family stated, "In that affair a change came over the boy. He lost something, that precious

little spark that we are spending millions of dollars to instil in the hearts of American boys and girls, a faith, a trust and a respect for the laws of our land."

This headline appeared in a Columbia paper, "Baby Bandits Get Into 'Racket' Early: Stage Third Robbery." The account gives the nature of this offense and how it was accomplished. A hopeful sign in Omaha was found when it was discovered that the judge of the juvenile court refused newspaper reporters in his court, and all others who were not connected with the case except those who have special permit from him. Consequently, all the publicity given juvenile offenders in Omaha is given by the police who pick them up and turn them over to the juvenile authorities.

Another influence exerted by the press which serves as a determinant in juvenile delinquency is the sensational account of adult crimes. Often the technique of the crime is given in detail, or, if not, the criminal is pictured as a hero or a martyr. The so-called "blood-and-thunder" articles in magazines and the magazine sections of the dailies have been held responsible in some cases for turning youthful minds in the direction of criminality, yet, such stories are of the most spectacular variety of crimes, and offer little that can be imitated. The actual happenings of today are the kind that have the greatest influence. In most cases the delinquents are unable to recall just how or where they acquired knowledge of the technique used. Such cases when more carefully analyzed revealed the fact that press accounts of some similar crime furnished the basic knowledge. Suggestion plays an important role in all forms of crime, particularly crimes of violence and atrociousness, such as the kidnapping and mutilation of Marian Parker.

Thrasher, in his study of gangs in Chicago found the newspaper an important factor in influencing juvenile gangs. He says, "Patterns of behavior presented in the newspapers are followed in much the same way as those that appear in the movies and in books; yet such emulation does not ordinarily come to public attention unless it involves tragedy or has sensational value. The influence of the story of the suicide of Robert Preston, a Northwestern University student, has been noted in two cases, one in Chicago and another in Milwaukee. In each case clippings of the Preston story were found among the possessions of the boy committing suicide. There can be little doubt that knowledge of criminal activities and technique is frequently disseminated through the newspaper, many of which seem to thrive best by featuring crime news and playing it up for its last shred of emotional appeal."⁴⁶

We made an analysis of 271 news stories of crimes which appeared for one month in the three daily papers in Omaha. These stories represented crimes in various parts of the country. Very few were local. They concerned adults, but they are mentioned here because of the possible influence some of them may have had on juvenile crime. They were divided as follows: Liquor selling or "bootlegging," twenty-four; theft, seven; bank robberies, six; forgery, two; divorces, seventeen; sex crimes, three; kidnapping, one; bigamy, one; elopement, one; suicide, eight; other robberies, 66; and miscellaneous crimes, 78. It was not uncommon for two of these papers to run three or

⁴⁶*The Gang*, p. 111.

four separate stories on the same crime, playing up various angles of it. Their motive seemed to be competition in portraying the most morbid and sensational material, as well as suggestive technique. Identical elements of procedure are transferred from accounts of adult crimes to situations in the realm of juvenile experience. The following case illustrates the influence of newspaper reports: An American family consisting of four children and the parents lived in a fair neighborhood. The house was modern except heat and was very well kept. In 1919, a twelve year old son made his first appearance before the court for truancy. Three years later he was arrested for stealing merchandise and for giving a fictitious name. He was later held for forgery in a neighboring city. He claimed that he got the idea of using a fictitious name, as well as the technique which he used in forgery, from newspaper reports. The other children had caused no trouble.

It is impossible, scientifically, to measure the extent to which the newspapers are determinants of juvenile delinquency, but it appears that from such intangible data received the policy of newspapers in handling crime publicity is a strong determinant in juvenile delinquency. However, no positive conclusion can be arrived at in this field in the present state of social science.

CHAPTER VIII

DETERMINANTS OF DELINQUENCY IN THE DENSITY, MOBILITY AND GROWTH OF POPULATION

Much has been written within the last decade concerning population problems, but very little has been written concerning their relation to juvenile delinquency. The University of Chicago studies are the most noted in this field. Urban migration has caused greater density in definite centers. Increased transportation facilities have produced greater mobility, and, as a result of medical science and other counter selective forces there has been a gradual growth of population. These forces naturally interfere somewhat with the status quo of society. Burgess says, "The mobility of city life, with its increase in the number and intensity of stimulations, tends inevitably to confuse and to demoralize the person. For an essential element in the mores and in personal morality is consistency, consistency of the type that is natural in the social control of the primary group. Where mobility is the greatest, and where in consequence primary control break down completely, as in the zone of deterioration in the modern city, these develop areas of demoralization, of promiscuity, and of vice."⁴⁷ The breaking down of the primary controls directly affects the growing child. He becomes a victim of circumstances. Social adjustments for him are more difficult than for the adult, consequently, there is a great tendency for him to become seriously maladjusted.

TABLE XIV

Relation of Population Density to Delinquency in Omaha

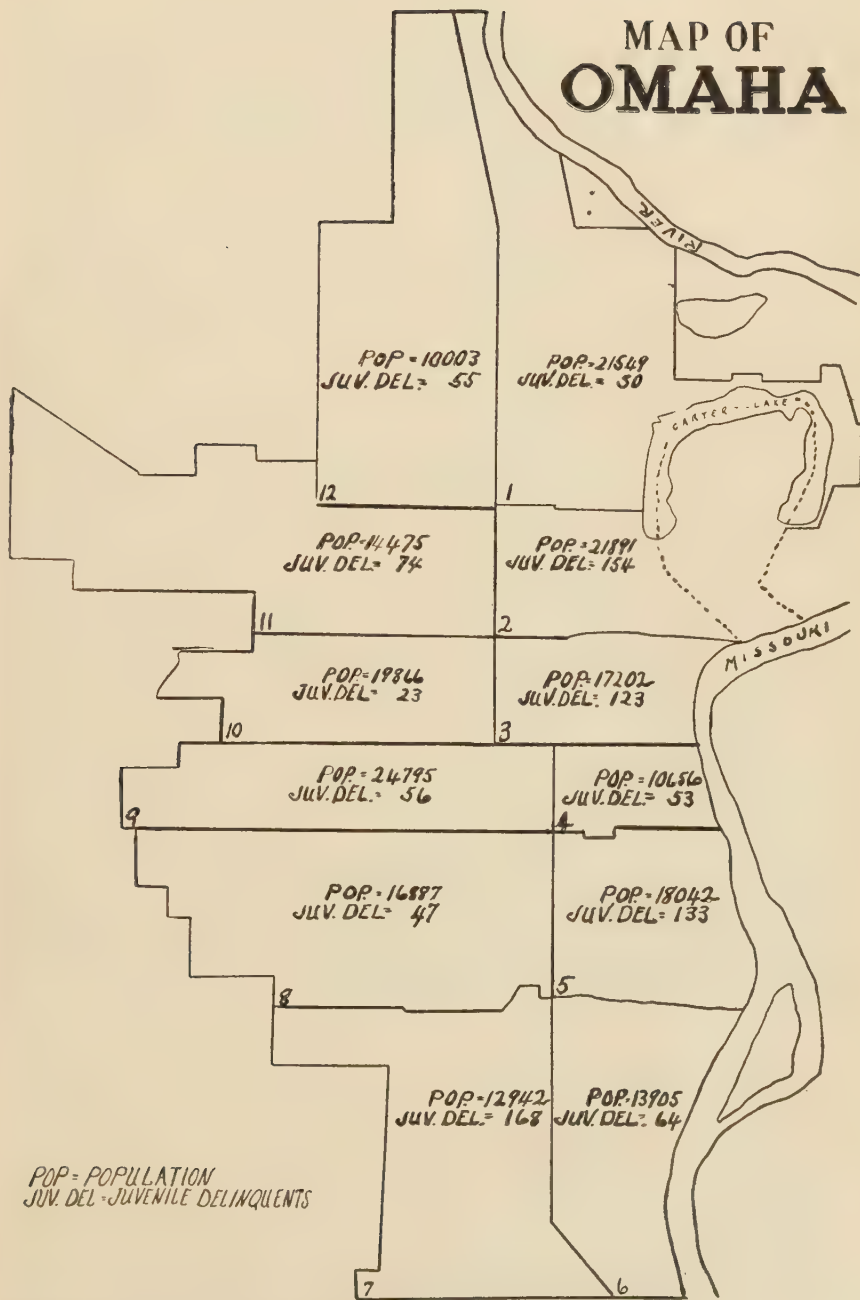
Ward	Population*	Per cent	Number of Delinquency Cases	Per 1000 Population
1	21,549	10.2	50	2.3
2	21,291	10.1	154	7.0
3	17,202	8.2	123	7.1
4	10,656	5.1	53	4.9
5	18,042	8.6	133	7.3
6	13,905	6.6	64	4.6
7	12,942	6.2	168**	12.9
8	16,887	8.1	47	2.8
9	24,795	11.8	56	2.2
10	19,866	9.4	23	1.1
11	14,475	6.8	74	5.1
12	10,003	4.9	55	5.5

⁴⁷Burgess, *The City*, p. 59.

*Population was computed from the city voting list (1927).

**Includes 24 who were just outside the city limits.

MAP OF OMAHA



Map showing relation between ward population and distribution of 1000 delinquents.

We will now discuss the relation of the density, mobility and growth of population to juvenile delinquency. To do this, it is necessary to deal with each separately. Professor Elmer says that the less a person knows about the relation of density of population to juvenile delinquency the surer he is that density of population is a cause of crime. In our study of the 1145 cases in Omaha we found the following distribution of 1000 court cases according to city wards: (See map on page 57).

From the standpoint of population in general, we find that wards one, two, nine and ten combined make nearly one-half of the entire population of Omaha, but only a little more than one-fourth of the juvenile delinquency population. But when we direct our attention to certain wards we find much variation. In wards one, nine and ten the juvenile delinquency rate seems very low as these include the best residential sections of the city. Ward two runs high in both population and delinquency. It includes most of the Negro homes. Wards three and five rank high in delinquency, but they not only include the main Italian district, but also much of the railroad and river bank territory. Ward seven ranks highest in juvenile delinquency in proportion to the population. It is very densely populated, and includes the packing plant residential districts. The housing is very poor, and in fact all the environmental conditions are far below the average. Here is where we found overcrowded conditions in the homes, in the most extreme forms. It was not uncommon to find a family of nine or ten and six to eight single men roomers all living in a three or four room house, or apartment over a grocery store. This analysis, in our estimation, only points out that juvenile delinquency is frequently associated with density of population and is not necessarily determined by it. Elliott,⁴⁸ in her studies in Chicago, reached similar conclusions.

A child is very much like a young tree. If the tree has good soil, plenty of sunlight, fresh air and moisture, and is not crowded, it grows straight and natural. If it comes up in or is transplanted to poor soil where the sun never warms it and it is crowded, it grows crooked, stunted and unhealthy. Crowded conditions in the home and neighborhoods re-act in the same general way upon the child, as our data show. We found many cases poorly nourished, crowded into shacks with the floor as the only bed for the children. One does not wonder if such youngsters steal apples, oranges and other fruit from boxes and open stands placed on sidewalks in front of stores for advertising. The following table pictures the crowded conditions in many families studied:

⁴⁸"Correlation Between Rate of Juvenile Delinquency to Racial Heterogeneity," *Welfare Magazine*, Vol. XVII, pp. 5-23.

TABLE XV

Size of Dwelling of 75 Families Furnishing Delinquents in Omaha

Number of Rooms	Number of Families	Average Number of Persons Per Room	Average Number of Children Per Family
1	3	9.3	7.3
2	11	4.5	6.1
3	8	2.6	5.2
4	14	1.9	5.8
5	20	1.4	4.9
6	13	1.2	5.1
7	4	1.0	5.5
8	1	1.1	7.0
9	1	.9	6.0

This table shows that the crowded conditions were greatest in 22 families. Residences of four rooms and up do not present any serious crowded situations. The three families which averaged 7.3 children or 9.3 persons to the room furnished vivid pictures of crime and destitution. The children were not only poorly nourished but poorly clothed. Relief agencies have aided them many times. The eleven families living in two-room dwellings were not much better, as in most cases the second room was only a "lean to" for the kitchen. The three-room houses occupied by eight of the families were much better. They had an average of only 2.6 persons to the room. The remaining 53 families studied in this respect did not suffer from over-crowdedness in their homes. No doubt in at least one-third of these families crowded home conditions were found to be a strong determinant of delinquency, as such conditions break down decency and modesty and lead to sexual crimes. Young minds are exposed to normal situations which suggest immorality and vice. It also multiplies human contacts which are conducive to conflict. Children frequently forsake these crowded homes for the freedom of the street. Every year small boys are brought into the court for such offenses as sleeping in hallways, in barns, in cars and similar places. In many cases the child is trying to escape from cruel parents, but often the cause lies in the simple fact of an uncomfortable, over-crowded home. The case of a Polish-American boy who was brought to court for shooting, later for truancy and stealing, was one of seven children who lived with their parents in a two-room house near the railroad. The boy was frequently running away, stealing or getting into trouble. But since poverty, poor health and so many other intangible factors are associated with over-crowdedness it is difficult to say to just what extent it is a cause of juvenile delinquency.

The size of the family of delinquents as judged from the number of children in their families has generally been considered by social workers as a factor meriting consideration from the point of view of delinquency causation. Our findings substantiate this idea. In Omaha we found that 54 per cent of 175 families reported on had five or more children, and in Columbia this was true of 45.7 per cent of 70 families. Of the Omaha groups about 20 per cent had eight or more children. Table XVI gives the distribution.

TABLE XVI

Size of 175 Families Furnishing Delinquent Children to the Court in Omaha,
1922-1927

Number of Children	Number of Families	Per cent
1	20	11.4
2	20	11.4
3	21	12.0
4	20	11.4
5	20	11.4
6	17	9.8
7	19	10.8
8	15	8.5
9	16	9.2
10	5	2.8
11	1	.5
12	0	.0
13	1	.5

In these 175 families there were 876 children, or an average of five per family. In Columbia the average size of the families furnishing delinquents to the juvenile court was 3.4 children. In Omaha the delinquent was the only child in 20 cases, or 11.4 per cent, but in Columbia the rate was much higher, namely, 12 cases out of 70, or 17 per cent.

Conditions in the one or two child families are quite different from the family of eight or more children. In the former, the child has few, if any, social contacts with other children in his own home. He is often pampered and forced to fit into the standards of adults. His delinquencies often arise from a vain effort of self-expression. In the latter, struggle for survival, both economically and socially, plays an important role. Often intellectual differences or emotional instability, or both, are present in some of the children of the extra large families. It is practically impossible to keep the modern large family integrated. Interests become diversified early, and like-mindedness is almost unknown. From our study we conclude that there is a close correlation between the size of the family and juvenile delinquency. This does not mean that the rate of delinquency increases as the size of family increases, since our data show that only eight per cent of the families furnished more than one delinquent.⁴⁹

Moving from place to place in itself is not as bad for children as other conditions that go with mobility, such as poverty, lack of home spirit and the habit of wanderlust. Constant changing of residence makes family and social life very unstable and superficial. Professor Dexter says, "A neighborhood environment which is always changing and in which there are all sorts of elements is likely to become a breeding place for criminals. There are no fixed standards. Nobody knows or cares for any one else, and there are no

⁴⁹Compare with Healy and Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking*, p. 104.

social checks on conduct. The change of morale not to mention morals which comes over the country man or woman who migrates to a large city is a well known case in print."⁵⁰ The rate of mobility runs high among temporary and unsettled families.

TABLE XVII

Mobility of 100 Families Furnishing Delinquents in Omaha, 1922-1927

	Number of Families	Per cent
Total Number of Cases	100	100
Frequency of Mobility		
1 or more times per year	34	34
1 in 2 to 6 years	4	4
1 in 6 or more years	62	62

This table explains the mobility of 100 families in Omaha. It shows that 38 per cent of these families moved often. Some of this group had become chronic movers, moving as often as every month or two. It is estimated that at least 90 per cent of the 62 per cent which seldom moved owned their homes outright or were paying for them.

In Columbia the mobility of 79 families was studied and tabulated as follows.

TABLE XVIII

Mobility of 79 Families Furnishing Delinquents in Columbia, 1922-1927

	Number of Families		Per cent	
Total	79	79	100.0	100.0
Frequency of Mobility				
1 or more times in 2 years				
Whites	32		40.7	
Colored	10	42	12.6	53.3
1 in 3 or more years				
Whites	22		27.8	
Colored	15	37	18.9	46.7

Forty-two, or 53.3 per cent, of the 79 cases changed their residence at least every two years. About 18 per cent more of the white delinquents were from mobile homes. But the colored leaders estimated that two-thirds of their race in Columbia own their homes. We found that 36, or 69 per cent, of the 52 white cases for which we obtained data and 17, or 74 per cent, of the 23 colored cases were from rented homes, or, in other words, 70.6 per cent of all the 75 cases studied were from tenant families. We were unable to obtain sufficient amount of data on tenancy of families furnishing delinquents in Omaha to make any worthwhile calculations.

⁵⁰*Social Adjustment*, p. 304.

Summarizing these data, we found that 38 per cent in Omaha and 53.3 per cent in Columbia of the delinquent families were mobile. Since both of these centers pride themselves on stability and a small amount of mobility among their populations as a whole, we can safely conclude that there is a very close correlation between mobility and juvenile delinquency. The question, however, remains open as to whether this whole group has moved more or less than the average family of the same economic status.

Our conclusions in this chapter coincide with Elmer's⁵¹ findings in a similar study of population density and juvenile delinquency in the Twin Cities. He found that maladjustments of juveniles were rather definitely localized within circumscribed areas, which Professor Burgess calls "zone of transition." We found a high correlation between over-crowded conditions in the homes and mobility with juvenile delinquency. No doubt there are definite determinants of delinquency in these three forces, but they would be exceedingly difficult, if possible, to isolate from the many other factors.

⁵¹"Maladjustment of Youth in Relation to Density of Population." From Burgess, *The Urban Community*, p. 161.

CHAPTER IX

PROPHYLACTICS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

In the course of the discussion of various angles of our problem certain well-defined prophylactics have been suggested, a few of which will be discussed in this chapter. It is obvious that the chief problem of juvenile delinquency is one of prevention; but the procedure to follow is not always so clearly defined. Because the common background of all human beings includes wishes, urges and drives that are not always in accord with the formulated rules of organized society, definite preventive measures will always be necessary. As causes of crime increase and more powerful incentives or aids to delinquency appear in our civilization, just in that proportion shall we have to evolve social machinery to counteract these incentives.

If we look at delinquency as a disturbed equilibrium between the individual and his environment, social machinery that helps to establish harmonious relationships becomes the paramount need. Adler says, "An individual in the community is constantly engaged in orienting himself in regard to his general and special environment. Just as in the simple process of maintaining one's physical equilibrium, it is possible to become confused and dizzy, so an individual may become disoriented socially."⁵²

The varieties of human beings and the varieties of causes of delinquency are too many to be met by a unitary conception of what it is possible to do in the therapy of juvenile delinquency. The plan for meeting this problem should begin with the pre-delinquent child by developing specific and locally directed efforts for diverting children's energies and ideas away from delinquent trends. Every agency at work among children should overcome and prevent the more serious offenses against society by properly directing the child's activities into useful channels. The aim of some of these organizations is to meet the crises which often arise in the lives of individuals.

A normal home is the most powerful prophylactic of juvenile delinquency yet discovered. It is a home with parents living together harmoniously, one which has reasonable comforts, enough wholesome food for nourishment, and surrounded by opportunities for the healthy development of mind, body and spirit. The training given a child during its first years of life largely determines its behavior. The old Proverb, Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it, is sound philosophy.

As the child begins to participate in the playgroup he needs the guidance of social agencies which supplement the influence in the home. Such agencies and organizations are now numerous, but only the most important ones will be mentioned in this connection.

The Boys' Club Federation is an organization to promote the formation of clubs, to study their operation and to provide information and advice to

⁵²Adler, *A Behavioristic Study of Delinquency*, p. 17.

communities organizing and operating such clubs. These clubs operate on the assumption that the misbehavior of boys, especially as it takes the form of delinquency, tends to be group-wise and predatory. The clubs have grown out of the fact that gangs are routes to professional crime. Realizing that bad boys are usually associated in gangs and that it is very difficult to convert a boy so long as he remains in his gang surroundings, boy workers have attempted to win the gang as a whole. Butler, in speaking of the prophylactic value of clubs for boys says, "Give him a simple club for the activities of his leisure time between school hours and bed time, and he is taken off the street, away from the association with morons and criminals. Through supervised games he learns to play fair; and the boy who learns to play fair develops an alertness, honesty and truthfulness that makes a man of him. The boy in the street is detached and the gang gets him unless his home is sympathetic and constant. The club is the anchor of modern boyhood."⁵³ The boy must not be treated as if he existed in a social vacuum, but he must be dealt with as a member of all the various groups to which he belongs.

Properly directed playgrounds and social centers give youth a chance to give vent to their surplus energies in a wholesome manner. "The way to eliminate crime," said William J. Bogan, Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools, "is to have a positive and more interesting substitute. Good citizenship is not a stupid, drab affair."⁵⁴ "After fifteen years service in the juvenile court as probation officer," says James H. Kelley, Milwaukee, "I have found that playgrounds and social centers are the greatest saviors for our American youth. They prevent most of our boys and girls from going wrong."⁵⁵ Judge Ricks of the Juvenile Court, Richmond, Virginia, in speaking of the prophylactic value of properly supervised recreation says, "Suffice it to say that after nearly fifteen years experience in juvenile court work as probation officer and judge, it is my conviction that supervised recreation is the best preventive of delinquency yet devised. It, of course, will not take the place of the home, church or school in child training or character building, but it is a valuable ally to these institutions. My hope is, therefore, that the time will come when the public conscience will recognize the right of every child to have a place in which he can play in safety under trained leaders."⁵⁶ Many other such testimonials (and findings in addition to ours in this study)* might be mentioned, but these are sufficient to show that play under adequate supervision and direction is a considerable factor in the reduction and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

The Boy and Girl Scouts are organizations which make use of the child's interest in nature, adventure, pioneer life, Indian lore, woodcraft and the acquisition of skill and attainment, and thus they direct the energies of the child into wholesome channels. The testimony of Judge Victor Arnold of the Chicago Juvenile Court that only five Scouts out of 30,000 boy delinquents brought before him⁵⁷ is corroborated by many other judges, social workers and

⁵³"Boys' Clubs and Crime," *Review of Reviews*, April, 1929.

⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵Quoted by Dr. Chas. A. Ellwood.

⁵⁶Letter to the author.

*See Chapter II.

⁵⁷*Chicago Daily News*, Dec. 21, 1922.

superintendents of reform schools. Mr. Harrison, Superintendent of the Missouri State Reformatory for Boys, says, "Our records show that the conserving influence of the church, Sunday school, Boy Scouts and the like plays a big part in keeping down juvenile delinquency. We very rarely receive a boy who has been going to Sunday school or church immediately preceding his commitment, or has been identified with a wholesome boy organization like the Scouts. In some 5000 boys that have passed through my hands during the last eight years I have been superintendent, only two or three have been disclosed as Boy Scouts and very few have claimed regular attendance at Sunday school or church."⁵⁸

Despite the rapid growth of scouting in Omaha, however, the movement has not yet reached any large proportion of the boys in the neighborhoods of greatest crime. The basic reason for this is that the development of scouting in any neighborhood depends upon the initiative of local leadership.

Various organizations providing for the leisure time of the pre-scout boy have been tried. None of them have entirely met the need. The Wolf Cubs, which follow a modified program of the Boy Scouts, the Rangers which is a nature study organization, and recreational clubs are the most successful organizations dealing with this group. The latter has not been extensively used but was first suggested by one of the pastors in Columbia. The community is divided into divisions of about three blocks square. The boys in each division are organized into clubs of five or six each and are directed by voluntary leaders. Thus with a good leader the way is paved for the Boy Scouts later.

The Girl Scouts is a rapidly growing organization built upon the Boy Scout program, with appropriate modifications. As a form of recreation and a means of spending leisure time, this activity has the same advantage as that of the Boy Scouts, in that it provides a variety of interesting activities, and the same disadvantage, in that it reaches relatively small numbers, and probably those who need it least.

The Camp Fire Girls' program is also based on character building and usefulness to society. It emphasizes the proper utilization of leisure time, with much stress on outdoor life. One hundred and eighty-two delinquent girls were checked with this organization in Omaha, but none were found to be or had been members of the Camp Fire organization.

Such organizations as those of the Big Brother and Big Sister endeavor to enlist the personal interest of men and women of good character in behalf of individual boys and girls, particularly those who have come before the juvenile court. Organizations and institutions are utilized, but the main emphasis is placed on personal influence. Protestant, Catholics and Jews alike participate in these organizations.

The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, and Knights of Columbus, representing a religious and moral way of life on the one hand, and physical manhood and womanhood and participation in sports on the other,

⁵⁸Letter to the author, Feb. 26, 1929.

hold a favorable position in preventing juvenile delinquency. Without being charitable organizations they have placed clubs with recreation, companionship, shelter, helpful influence and a degree of ease and dignity within the reach of a large number.

The church with its various auxiliaries is also a potential force in preventing juvenile delinquency. The church program may be arranged so that it gives the young people something to do, something to think about and something to enjoy. It thus attracts and holds the children of juvenile court age by developing the three passions of youth; work, play and love. The local church has a definite responsibility for the social and moral needs of its community and should meet that responsibility in every possible way. A survey⁵⁹ of the recreational programs of 162 organized churches in Omaha revealed the following findings:

	Number of active organized churches by denominations	Number with some form of organized recreation	Per cent
Total	162	72	44.7
Catholic (Roman)	34	20	54
Catholic (Greek)	3	0	0
Lutheran	22	10	45
Presbyterian	18	10	55
Methodist	18	9	50
Baptist	15	9	60
Episcopal	10	5	50
Christian	6	2	33
Congregational	6	4	66
Hebrew	6	Jewish Welfare Ass'n	
Evangelical	5		0
Latter Day Saints	3		0
Christian Scientist	3		0
United Presbyterian	3		50
Church of the Brethren	1		100
Spiritualist	2		0
Reformed	1	1	100
Others	6	0	0

Religious affiliation tells only a part of the story but it is interesting to note the distribution of delinquents according to the three main faiths.

⁵⁹Sullenger, "Social Ministry in an American City," *Homiletic Review*, May, 1924.

TABLE XIX

Religious Affiliation of the Families of 971 Delinquents in Omaha, 1922-1927

	TOTAL		SEX	
	Number	Per cent	Boys	Girls
Total Number of Cases	971	100	678	293
Protestants	445	45.8	295	150
Catholics	345	35.5	270	75
Jews	38	3.9	31	7
Not stated	143	14.8	82	61

This table shows that 45.8 per cent of the 971 delinquents had a direct or indirect connection with some Protestant church, 35.5 per cent were from Catholic families, 3.9 per cent Jews, and 14.8 per cent either had no religious connection or the case worker failed to record it. The churches of Omaha have a fertile field for constructive work in preventing juvenile delinquency.

Society should be specifically concerned with the influence of newspaper presentation of crime of both adults and juveniles. The story of the crime, the almost invariable practice of dealing merely with the details of the immediate offense and with the transactions of the police and of the lawyer in the courts, must be offset by some constructive means, or outlawed. Healy and Bronner say, "We discern it to be a matter of vital importance that newspapers should strive against even indirectly and unintentionally picturing crime as exciting, alluring, a means of getting unfortunate ego satisfactions, so that delinquency and reputation of delinquency is stimulated. It is most undesirable for delinquents to obtain enjoyment from being 'written up;' their pleasure in notoriety is based upon the same psychology that leads other people to find satisfactions in published recognition of their activities, even in philanthropic or civil service."⁶⁰

A prophylactic that is rapidly gaining favor is the Junior Police.⁶¹ In this way boys' gangs have been led to protect the very property they sought previously to destroy. Professor Gillin says this concerning the Junior Police: "Since the seriousness of juvenile delinquency has been more clearly recognized, some of our leading police commissioners have taken steps to organize the boys who are likely to become delinquent into junior police. Before Mr. Woods left office he had 6000 boys in New York organized in these junior police squads. They were organized in thirty-two different precincts of the city under a regular police captain. The boys were between the ages of eleven and sixteen. They were in uniform and were drilled. They were given lessons in first aid, safety first, rules of the road, law and order. They had their games and athletic meetings, were trained to keep the city in order, to notify their police captains of conditions of disorder and of evil in their precincts. They were not permitted to go inside houses in order to do police duty, but they called attention to conditions on the outside; where they

⁶⁰*Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking*, p. 240. Compare with Chapter VII.

⁶¹Woods, *Crime Prevention*, pp. 108-111.

suspected something wrong on the inside, they reported it to their police official. Each of these junior police had to learn by heart a pledge, and he must be regular in attendance at the classes held for him by the police. Colonel Woods in 1917 said that it was his belief that the results of this organization had been very good. He remarked that there was a decided falling off in juvenile delinquency in the precincts where the junior police had been organized."⁶²

Other prophylactics which deserve mention are: scientific administration of outdoor relief and means of caring for dependent children; desirable neighborhood conditions, strict enforcement of child labor laws, supervision of street trades, establishment of well equipped playgrounds for all ages of children located in the most congested and poverty stricken sections and directed by trained leaders; strict enforcement of laws that pertain to pool halls, especially the prohibiting of minors; careful censorship of motion pictures, burlesques and vaudevilles that children attend; Americanization classes for parents in immigrant communities, public school teachers with the personal touch who can find the spark of interest in every child; teaching of socialized education, more visiting teachers, a strict enforcement of the compulsory attendance law; establishment of community houses and recreation centers with competent leaders; strict enforcement of the prohibition law, and efficient provision for detention.⁶³ Certain forms of delinquency can be prevented by enclosing the railroad tracks and yards so they cannot be habitually used as playgrounds or serve as persistent temptations for adventure and theft.

The chief problem in carrying out a program of delinquency prevention consists in securing coordination between all the agencies for civic and moral betterment in the neighborhoods where delinquency exists or is likely to exist. Not only the neighborhood but the entire community should have a consciousness of the social, moral and economic cost of juvenile delinquency, and assume the responsibility of applying every known prophylactic. Juvenile delinquency is as contagious as any physical disease, and much more harmful. The community provides the most efficient prophylactics known to science to check disease, but sits calmly by and allows the most insidious and dangerous social conditions to run their course unmolested in the lives of youth.

⁶²*Criminology and Penology*, pp. 739-740.

⁶³See Appendix II.

CHAPTER X

A COMMUNITY CHALLENGE

The findings of this study have demonstrated that juvenile delinquency is no longer an individual problem. The social order in which we live is characterized by interdependence, complexity and interrelations which determine the behavior of youth. The community becomes responsible for the provision and direction of the activities of its young people, since at an early age they become a functioning part of the community. As the child leaves the protective care of the home, he goes forth into the larger social groups of the community. He walks our streets and finds recreation in our private, public and commercial places of amusements. He reads our papers and our current literature and observes very closely society's attitude toward him, which is reflected in his behavior.

Judge B. Lindsey says, "However much we may admit a certain amount of natural or even vicious rowdiness on the part of boys, my own experience with so-called juvenile lawlessness of this kind has convinced me that the great number of cases involve the fault of the community and the attitudes of the community toward the child. . . . We have placed upon the child burdens that properly belong to the community as a whole, and in it too many cases are created by ignorance, selfishness and injustice of the community in dealing with childhood. It is only in recent years the community has begun to awake to its responsibilities as a community for the child."⁶⁴

The fact that juvenile delinquency is a product of the community must be faced squarely. The boy who has to use the streets for play is no more unsocial than the community which declines to furnish him with wholesome means of self-expression. No community that ignores its duties to its children should blame youth for shortcomings that might have been easily prevented. Juvenile delinquency in its cause, treatment and results becomes one of the community's greatest moral, social and educational problems. A better understanding of the child problem by the whole community is essential. Private and public agencies which are at work removing the causes of delinquency and substituting in their places constructive forces, should be encouraged and supported financially by the community. We conclude then that juvenile delinquency is only adult insufficiency. For every delinquent boy or girl there are two or more adults who have failed to comply with their social responsibility.

The problem of juvenile delinquency should challenge the highest and best in every community. It cannot be solved by "uplift" work, but by means of scientific, constructive programs.⁶⁵ It is a business proposition. Cooley says, "Prevention costs money, but it pays and is cheaper in the end. The prevention of crime is the business of every social force and every citizen in the community. For its accomplishment, however, we shall need the thoughtful interest of an awakened, intelligent and religiously minded community."⁶⁶

⁶⁴"The Child and the Community," *National Educational Association*, 1909, p. 737.

⁶⁵See Van Waters, "Your Town and the Delinquent Child," *Survey*, 52, pp. 608-611, and "Is Your Town Fit for a Child?" *Survey*, 53, p. 96.

⁶⁶*Probation and Delinquency*, p. 344.

Each social determinant revealed in this study is in itself a challenge to the community. We have pointed out in Chapter IX some of the most fruitful prophylactics that a community may use in coping with the problem of juvenile delinquency. In each chapter of our discussion certain clearly defined social determinants in juvenile delinquency are presented. These determinants become so many phases of the one problem, and each should be dealt with by the community as single objectives.

In this study we have analyzed 1145 cases of juvenile delinquency in Omaha and 75 cases in Columbia, all or part of which have been dealt with in various ways, as our material shows. In Omaha we also studied 119 newsboys, 271 newspaper stories which appeared in three daily papers in Omaha, 2000 normal high school and grade children in respect to the way they spent their leisure time after school, and the case records of 356 families in which the mothers received aid from the Mothers' Pension Fund. All of these have been handled from the standpoint of their direct or indirect relation to the causation of juvenile delinquency.

A statistical summary of the findings is as follows:

1. Home Conditions.

Thirty-nine and eight tenths per cent of 125 average cases in Omaha and 32 per cent of 75 cases in Columbia had parents or siblings who had been tried for some offense previous to the crime of the delinquent studied.

Fifty and seven tenths per cent of 1145 cases in Omaha were from broken homes, as compared with 52 per cent in Columbia.

Thirty-eight and seven tenths per cent of divorces in Omaha were granted to families with one child or more.

Thirty-five and nine tenths per cent of the delinquents from broken homes in Omaha were boys, and 64.1 per cent were girls. Twenty-two and three tenths per cent of the boys and 19.4 per cent of the girls were from homes broken by death of the father, while 19.7 per cent of the boys and 19.9 per cent of the girls had step-fathers. In Columbia death of the father ranked highest with 29.2 per cent.

2. The Playgroup.

Fifty-five per cent of the delinquencies were due to a search for recreation.

Ninety and four tenths per cent of 1000 homes of delinquents in Omaha were located more than one-half mile from the nearest municipal playground.

The annual cost of the care of one delinquent in a State Industrial School in Nebraska is sufficient to provide wholesome, well directed, municipal recreation for 6000 children.

During the two months the Demonstration playground in Omaha was in operation juvenile delinquency in that neighborhood decreased 10 per cent.

Four per cent of 540 high school boys in Omaha played pool; 29 per cent of them spent their leisure time joy riding. Fifteen and five tenths per cent of the 1145 delinquencies were due to reckless driving, and 16.7 per cent to auto theft.

Seventy per cent of all delinquent boys in Omaha did not commit their offenses alone. In Columbia 54 per cent of the cases were members of gangs.

3. School or Educational Conditions.

The average grade reached by 209 delinquent cases in Omaha was the seventh, with 34.9 per cent in high school and 23.4 per cent in the fifth grade and below. In Columbia the average grade attained was sixth with 37.2 per cent in high school or who had finished high school.

In Columbia 30 per cent of the colored delinquents and 12.5 per cent of the white were mentally defective.

In Omaha the average age for all girl offenders was 14.4 years, and for the boys 14.5 years. They were retarded in school about two years.

Truancy was the basis of 90 per cent of the cases studied in Omaha. The average age of the truant boys was 13.3 years and the girls 14 years.

In Columbia 66.6 per cent had been truants. Eighty-nine per cent of these cases were from broken homes. Only 10 per cent of the truants liked organized athletics.

In comparison with other offenses in Omaha truancy was about twice as great for boys as for girls, theft was 14 times as great for boys, and immorality was highest for girls.

4. Nativity of the Parents of Offenders.

Foreign born population in Omaha was 18.4 per cent in 1920.

Thirty-seven and three tenths per cent of 971 delinquents had foreign born parents. The Poles furnished 8.4 per cent, Italians 8.3 per cent, and Bohemians 4.1 per cent. The remainder were distributed over 19 nationality groups. Of the native born, 49.2 per cent were from white American parents, and 13.5 per cent from colored American parents.

5. Outdoor Relief.

Forty-five per cent of the families of 500 delinquents in Omaha were registered with the Social Service Exchange for having received some kind of aid from public and private relief agencies. In Columbia 40.5 per cent of the families of 69 cases received aid from such agencies.

In Omaha 81 per cent of the families of delinquents that received aid were below the normal condition of physical health.

Eighty-five and four tenths per cent of the fathers of 110 delinquent children in Omaha were un-skilled laborers, while 59.2 per cent in Columbia were un-skilled laborers.

The average weekly income for this group in Omaha was \$19.75; in Columbia, \$20.00.

A total of 829 separate social service registrations were made on 225 cases in Omaha, or an average of 3.7 registrations per family. Thirty-two and two tenths per cent were for material relief, and 54.1 per cent for medical aid.

Three and seven-tenths per cent of 862 children of 356 mothers who received mothers' pensions had been delinquent.

6. Street Trades as Represented by the Newsboy Salesmen.

Fifteen per cent of 119 newsboys who sold papers on the down town streets in Omaha were delinquent. This is 4.8 times the normal rate of juvenile delinquency in Omaha.

Thirty-seven and eight-tenths per cent of these newsboys were Italians, and 24.3 per cent were Jews.

Sixty per cent of the 119 had reached no higher than the fifth grade in school, and 60 per cent had been selling papers for two years or less.

Over one-half of the salesboys were 13 years of age and younger, yet 7.6 per cent had sold papers in other cities before coming to Omaha.

Ten per cent of the boys' fathers were dead.

Twenty-nine per cent claimed they were forced to work either because of necessity or by their parents.

Three hours and forty-five minutes made their average day's work.

Twelve and six tenths per cent reported that they did not have enough to eat, and 6 per cent had no home at all.

7. Mobility and Density of Population.

Wards 2, 3, 5, and 7 ranked highest in juvenile delinquency per 1000 population in Omaha.

Of 75 families furnishing delinquents in Columbia, 22, or 29.3 per cent, lived in houses of three rooms or less, with an average of 5.5 persons per room and 6.5 children per family.

Fifty-four per cent of 175 families which furnished delinquents in Omaha, and 45.7 per cent in Columbia had five or more children. Twenty per cent of the families in Omaha had eight or more children.

In the 175 families there were 876 children, or an average of five per family. In Columbia the average number of children was 3.4 per family.

The delinquent case was the only child in 11.4 per cent of the cases in Omaha, and 17 per cent in Columbia.

In 8 per cent of the homes furnishing delinquents, two or more children were delinquent.

In Omaha 34 per cent of 100 delinquent families moved one or more times per year, as compared with 53.3 per cent in Columbia.

8. General.

Omaha has an annual juvenile delinquency rate of 3.1 per cent, as compared with .4 per cent in Columbia.

Thirteen and two tenths per cent of delinquent boys in Omaha had at some time been members of the Boy Scouts.

Fifty per cent of all the delinquents studied in Omaha were repeaters, 74 per cent of these were boys and 26 per cent girls.

Thirteen and five tenths per cent of the delinquents were Negroes out of 5.4 per cent population⁶⁷ in Omaha, while in Columbia the Negro percentage of delinquency was 34 out of a population of 18.5 per cent. The rate of Negro population between five and 19 years of age in Omaha was 4.3 per cent compared with a delinquency rate of 13.5 per cent. In Columbia the Negro population for the same ages was 20.9 per cent as compared with a delinquency rate of 34 per cent.

⁶⁷Population figures based on U. S. Census (1920).

CONCLUSIONS

The social determinants in juvenile delinquency revealed in this study may be expressed in the following general conclusions:

1. The home conditions, physical, mental, moral social and economic, are causative factors in more than one-half of all cases of delinquency. The broken home has a greater relative effect on the girl than on the boy. The loss of the care, guidance, and economic support of the father is a determinant in about 20 per cent of the juvenile delinquent cases, and a step-father is just as strong a factor.

2. Most of the delinquent acts are suggested or brought to the child's attention during its spare time. Many of the acts are performed in order to get the resources or means by which the child can enjoy its leisure time. The lack of properly directed recreation and play life of the child is a strong determinant in delinquency, since in most cases juvenile misconduct is only misdirected or unguided energy.

3. The study of the leisure time activities of about 2000 normal high school and grade pupils shows the kind of recreation participated in by the average boy and girl who are potential delinquents.

4. Truancy is the beginning of juvenile delinquency of a more serious nature. Pre-truancy and pre-delinquency may be detected and treatment applied in time to prevent many of the behavior problems. The school becomes a determinant in juvenile delinquency because of inadequate facilities for recreation, rigid and elastic discipline, poorly enforced attendance laws, wrong grading, unsympathetic and untrained teachers, undesirable attitude of pupils toward the teachers, failure to meet racial and mental differences by modification of the course of study, unfit and unwilling children given the same training as others, bad associations, and above all the lack of a socialized education. These apply to the school in general, not especially to Omaha and Columbia.

5. The analysis of five culture areas reveals the following determinants in delinquency: clash between neighborhood cultures, conflict between cultures of the present and former generations, racial conflicts, antagonistic attitude of various immigrant groups toward one another, breakdown of spiritual and social institutions, traditional crime codes, instability and unrest of the population, poor housing and physical environmental conditions, poverty and its accompanying disastrous forces, and the lack of proper recreational facilities under wholesome direction.

6. Poverty and dependency are conducive to juvenile delinquency, as they lower the physical and mental powers of resistance, increase temptations and physical disease, and place the family in poor neighborhood environmental conditions. The result of efficiently administered outdoor relief shows a decided trend toward the prevention of juvenile crime.

7. Street trades are not determinants of juvenile delinquency in themselves, but the conditions under which the child works are the sources of danger. The newsboy who sells on the streets comes in constant contact with evil associates, is idle while waiting for the issues of his paper, out late at night, has poor recreational facilities and lacks wholesome supervision.

8. The newspaper publicity of juvenile and adult crimes which suggest to immature minds elements of procedure and technique of crimes is harmful and no doubt is a determinant in many of the juvenile delinquent acts.

9. A high correlation exists between juvenile delinquency and density and mobility of population. It is not so much the size of the family as it is the crowded housing conditions that so often accompany density of population. Excessive mobility discourages participation in and appreciation of neighborhood cultures.

10. In this comparison of Omaha and Columbia we wish to state the following conclusions: The status of the homes of the two centers was about the same. Proportionately more boys were aligned with definitely organized gangs in Columbia. The average grade reached in school was one year higher in Omaha. Truancy remained about the same. No first or second generation immigrant delinquents were found in Columbia. Four and five-tenths per cent more delinquent families had five children or more in Omaha. The average size of the family furnishing delinquents was 1.5 child larger in Omaha, and 5.6 per cent more delinquent children were the only child in Columbia families. Mobility was 15.3 per cent higher in Columbia. Other items compared remained about the same. We conclude that density of population accompanied by more impersonal contacts and immigrant groups account for the higher rate of delinquency in Omaha. Since child nature remains the same everywhere, environmental and cultural differences change the nature of conduct in population centers.

The social determinants in juvenile delinquency are many, but they vary in extent and intensity. As yet, no satisfactory means of measuring them has been devised. Isolation of each determinant from the other closely woven ones is difficult if not impossible, but detection is sufficiently objective to make analysis and prevention plainly discernable. Knowledge of much that can be modified in external conditions and in mental life fills the future with great possibilities. One may rationally believe that if a reasonable part of the enthusiasm, energy and funds devoted to other fields of civil and social improvement were directed toward research and constructive means of prevention of juvenile delinquency, many fruitful results would be obtained.

APPENDIX I

The data obtained in this study were secured largely from the juvenile court records, the Social Service Exchange files, social agencies dealing with children, the public schools, the junior chamber of commerce, council of churches, medical dispensaries, police records, individual leaders of boys and girls, personal interviews, visits to the homes, and settlement house files. The juvenile courts were the chief sources of information in the two centers studied. In Omaha the juvenile court divides its cases into three divisions, namely, the "court" cases, which are the ones that are handled by the judge himself, the "no-official-record" cases are dealt with by the chief probation officer in consultation with the judge, and the "settled-out-of-court" cases. In Columbia all the cases are handled in the same manner as they have no staff of probation officers. The 1145 cases studied in Omaha were court cases. The following schedule was used in this study:

SCHEDULE

For Juvenile Delinquency Survey of Omaha

1. Sex.....2. Age.....3. Offense.....
When before court.....Disposition made by the Court.....
4. Comments of parents on child's progress under probation.....
5. Present habits of child-industriousness, reading, drink, gambling, morality, drugs and tobacco.....

Recreation

6. Present associates.....Past associates.....
7. Present amusements.....Nature of past amusements.....
8. Belongs to what gangs, clubs, societies, if any?.....
9. Special recreation facilities within reach of child.....

Housing

10. Condition of present dwelling as to cleanliness and furnishings.....
11. External conditions of house, appearance, yard space, kind of bldg., etc.
.....
12. Number of rooms occupied by this family.....
13. Number in family.....Ages.....Boys.....Girls.....
14. Number in household.....Are they crowded?.....
15. Heating system in house.....
16. House owned or rented by occupants.....17. How much rent?.....
18. If sanitary conditions of house and neighborhood are notably bad, specify particulars.....
19. If morals of house and neighborhood are notably bad, specify particulars
.....
20. How long has family lived at this place?.....
21. How often do they move?.....

Family

22. Years in U. S. 23. Years in Omaha.
(Father, Mother)
24. Speak English.....
25. Write English..... 26. Read English.....
27. Did father and mother live in city or country before coming to U. S.?
..... Where?.....
28. Occupation of father before coming to U. S.
29. Occupation of mother before coming to U. S.
30. Have there been any serious illnesses or accidents in family?.....
31. Is there known insanity, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, or other nervous disorders among near relatives of the family?
Specify
32. What is present occupation of father?..... Wages.....
33. Does the mother work?..... Wages.....
34. Does the child work? If so, what?.....
35. Wages.....
36. How does he spend his wages?.....
37. Education of child when he became delinquent.....
Age..... Did he attend regularly?.....
Why not?.....
38. Can he read and write English?.....
39. Any other language?..... Which?.....
40. Grade reached in school.....
41. Has child had any injury or illness due to employment or accident?
Give particulars.....
42. Neighborhood conditions.....
43. Present health condition of family.....
44. Mental condition of the child.....
45. Does the family carry insurance?.....
46. Any other children before the court?..... Adults?.....
47. Religious affiliation of family.....
48. What are the habits of the parents as to drink, gambling, etc.?.....
49. Cultural background of the family conditions as far as can be determined
.....
50. Criminal records of other members of the family.....
51. What are the strongest influences in making the child delinquent?
a. In father's opinion.....
b. In mother's opinion.....
c. In investigator's opinion.....
52. What were the strongest influences in the improvement of the child's conduct?
a. In father's opinion.....
b. In mother's opinion.....
c. In investigator's opinion.....
53. List all additional factors that might have a bearing on the child's conduct, directly or indirectly.

TABLE XX

Disposition of 298 Juvenile Cases Made by the Court in Omaha, 1923

	TOTAL		SEX		AVERAGE AGES	
	Number	Per cent	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total Number of Cases	298	100	195	103		
<i>Disposition</i>						
Released, Placed on Probation	135	45.4	91	44	14.3	14.
Riverview Detention Home	48	16.1	32	16	14.	15.2
Kearney	43	14.4	43	—	14.8	—
Geneva	18	8.1	—	18	—	14.8
Continued	16	5.5	12	4	13.8	13.7
Private Home	13	4.3	4	9	14.5	15.6
Paroled	9	3.	7	2	16.5	17.
Milford	4	1.3	—	4	—	15.
Hospital	3	1.	1	2	17.	15.
Father Flanagan's Home	2	.6	2	—	11.5	—
Good Shepherd Convent	2	.6	—	2	—	16.
No Hearing	2	.6	1	1	13.	7.
Masonic Home	1	.3	1	—	10.	—
Child Saving Institute	1	.3	—	1	—	16.
Beatrice	1	.3	1	—	14.	—

This table shows that 61.5 per cent of these 298 offenders were placed on probation and in detention.

Information on the use of leisure time after school hours of 1784 high school and grade school boys and girls was secured by the aid of ten public school teacher who asked their pupils the following question: "What do you do for recreation outside of school?" The pupil was asked to list what he did *most* of the time for recreation outside of school hours. The replies were classified and tabulated.

The Mothers' Pension phase of this study consists of a study of case records of 356 mothers who received aid from this fund. The chief probation officer of the juvenile court in Omaha handles all the mothers' pension cases, so the records were all obtained from the juvenile court files. This discussion is found in Chapter V.

In order to secure the relation of juvenile delinquency to outdoor relief, 500 cases in Omaha were selected at random from the 1145 cases. The names and addresses of the parents were checked with the files of the Social Service Exchange. The same was done with the 75 cases in Columbia. In this way we were able to secure a portion of the data recorded in Chapter V.

The data in Chapter VI were obtained by personal interviews with the newsboys while they were waiting for their papers. These interviews were held in the distribution rooms of the papers, but each privately as far as possible. They were conducted in the form of friendly visits with the boys. The following information was obtained in the course of the conversation: age, nationality, school attended, grade in school, membership in Scouts, Y. M. C. A. and Sunday school; church attended, shows attended, and how often, length of service as a newsboy, places of service, satisfaction with street assignments, hours of work, sales, father's age, mother's age, parents alive or dead, number of brothers and number of sisters, number of persons dependent upon their earnings, attitude of their parents toward their work, per cent of wages given to others, and father's occupation. They were asked if they had enough to eat and to wear, and if they were satisfied with their home and living conditions. Their ambitions for life work were obtained. The names were checked with the juvenile court records to determine the per cent of juvenile delinquency.

APPENDIX II

THE CARE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN DETENTION IN
NEBRASKA, 1927

A letter was sent to each of the 92 county judges in Nebraska, in which the following questions were asked: What provision does your county make for the care of juvenile delinquents in detention, while waiting for trial and waiting to be sent to an institution? How many were held last year? How many juvenile delinquents in your county were sentenced to state reformatories during the year?

Replies were received from 56, or 60.8 per cent, of the counties. Forty-three per cent of them held juvenile delinquents sometime during the year, and the same number sentenced some to the state reformatories. The following provisions were made for the detention of juveniles before being sent to an institution: Cared for by the sheriff, 14 per cent; in suitable homes, 5 per cent; by probation officers, 5 per cent; on parole and in jail, 14 per cent. No provision was made for 62 per cent of the juveniles. Care of children while awaiting trial: The sheriff cared for 32 percent; juvenile matron, 8 per cent; detention home, 10 per cent; in private homes, 5 per cent; in jail, 6 per cent; by probation officers, 6 per cent; on parole, 5 per cent; and those providing no care for children while awaiting trial were 28 per cent.

A lack of interest in juveniles seemed evident in many of the letters received. Some of the judges seemed to have never thought of providing for juvenile delinquents, except as a means of punishment.

APPENDIX III

Information on illiteracy in the five neighborhoods studied, reports of which occur in Chapter IV, was obtained by sending to the parents through the public schools, and by distribution at club meetings of various kinds, the following card questionnaire:

"KNOW WHAT OUR OMAHA SCHOOLS ARE DOING"

They Are Offering An Education to Every Person

If you know of any

Man..... Woman..... Child.....

over 16 years of age who cannot write a letter in English, or who cannot read a newspaper, please write his or her

Name

Address

Telephone No.....and state
whether White.....or Colored.....

If foreign-born, what nationality?.....

Return to.....School

Number of Cards Returned and Classified According to School District

Bancroft	92	Lake	20
Beals	2	Lincoln	102
Belvidere	32	Long	87
Benson High.....	2	Lothrop	19
Brown Park	157	Madison	8
Cass	27	Mason	191
Castellar	65	Miller Park	4
Central High	6	Minne Lusa	3
Central School	4	Monmouth	1
Clifton Hill	3	Pacific	78
Columbian	7	Park	12
Comenius	295	Saratoga	9
Corrigan	10	Sherman	17
Druid Hill	23	South Central	111
Edward Rosewater.....	46	South Franklin	213
Farnam	9	South High	44
Field Club	3	South Lincoln	27
Franklin	8	Train	375
Garfield	6	Vinton	34
Hawthorne	5	Walnut Hill	15
Highland	21	Webster	13
Howard Kennedy.....	59	West Side	148
Jungman	82	Windsor	21
Kellom	255		
Total			*2,762

*Sullenger and Cole, "A Study of Illiteracy in Omaha," *University of Omaha Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 5.

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